AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 11. No. 1 — MARCH 1952

# KIKUYU TALES

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*SYNOPSIS*

*This is a small collection of Kikuyu folk tales which I have heard personally from different narrators of the Kikuyu tribe. Having lived with them for nearly thirty-seven years, I have learned, not only their language and their customs, but much of the tradition and spirit of the people.*

*The changes, which have taken place within the tribe in the last fifty years, are enough to baffle one's imagination. The contact with progress and civilization, changes of government, the possibility of free movement for trading and exchanging products, have greatly influenced the old traditions and their mode of life. The old generation is fast disappearing and with it the tribal folk-lore, the customs and even the very characteristics of the country.*

*Among their treasure of tradition the tribal tales used to reflect their primitive culture and interpretation of life. Nowadays, however, genuine narrators are very rare and those of the new generation are imbued with modern ideas. They prefer stories borrowed from the Swahili or from European literature, so that the old stories are not only neglected but even ignored for fear of being behind the times.*

*In view of these peculiar circumstances, I hasten to record these genuine tribal tales before it is too late. I hope they will be of some interest to the student of Bantu culture. They may also be appreciated by those of the young Kikuyu generation who possesses true patriotism.* *C. C.*

## 1. KEMANGURURA, A KIKUYU HERO

Once upon a time, when the Kikuyu country was ruled by the Mathathi,[1] there was a young man, whose name was Kemangururа. He was a man of extraordinary strength. He could hold his ground against 50 lions or 20 elephants. When he threw his club, he could kill two thousand men at a single stroke. One day he strolled down to the homestead of a rich old man, called Njoroge wa Mbogwa, who was harbouring in his enclosure a monster, which people used to call Hitimondo. On approaching the fence, the monster barked at him, abused him in bad language and tried to sling mud at his face. Kemangururа resented the insult very much: his body quivered and he felt as sore as if he had been shot by ten arrows. Full of resentment, he went to Njoroge wa Mbogwa and said: Allow me to strike a blow at the head of Hitimondo with my fist. No, dear friend, said Njoroge, forget the incident, I will settle the matter myself. Kemangururа

[1] The Akikuyu never had a king ruling over the whole tribe. They had a few leaders here and there who gained respect among the folk for outstanding feats or personal qualities. The Government of the different Districts was in the hands of the elders of a particular age group. They remained in power for a generation, that is from 25 to 30 years ; after that lapse of time the government was transferred to the following generation with special functions and ceremonies. The Mathathi mentioned here is an old ruling class of the Kikuyu.

kept quiet for the sake of his friend, waiting for a better opportunity to revenge himself.

Before long the country was struck by a great calamity. The Masai appeared in great strength on the border for a raid upon the Akikuyu. The houses were pillaged, a good number of men were killed and the cattle, the goats, the young women and girls were driven away, leaving behind ruin and destruction. As soon as the enemy withdrew, the old men emerged from their hiding places. They held a meeting: a long discusion took place and they concluded that only Kemangururа could help them and the country recover from disaster. They elected a commission of the most influential elders and sent it to the strong man with many presents, in order to propitiate him. They addressed him thus: "Most respectable Kemangururа, our father and our friend, we are sent to you by our people for a favour. Our cattle and our women have been driven away by the Masai;[1] we know very well your extraordinary strength and your generosity. You alone can retrieve our lost belongings from the hands of the Masai. We beseech you, please, come quickly and help us."

"No, no," hastily answered Kemengururа. "I will never help you unless I am allowed to hit Hitimondo as he deserves."

The elders remained silent for a while and finally sent two messengers to fetch Hitimondo and tell him to come without delay. The monster came and gazing boldly at the elders, asked with a raucous voice; "What do you want from me?" "Listen," said the leader of the commission," we came for very important business in which the whole country is concerned. We asked Kemangururа to help us, but he refused, unless he is allowed to hit you with his fist. And so we bid you to consent to be beaten by him, so that he might be satisfied for the insult you gave him the other day." "I be beaten?" asked Hitimondo. "Impossible. I will never consent, because you refused to give me the calf of your black cow." Then the elders told the cow: "Dear cow, deliver us a calf, so that Hitimondo might have a good meal and consent to be beaten by Kemangururа and we may retrieve our cattle." The cow said: "Impossible, because you refused to give me good grass when I was hungry." The elders went to see the rain-maker and told him: "Please, let the rain fall down, so that we might have good grass for the cow." The rain-maker said: "That is impossible, because you failed to bring me the feathers of the vulture from which I obtain my medicine for making rain." They went to the vulture and he said: "No, no, I can't give you even a single feather, because you prevented me from eating the striped mouse." They went to fetch a striped mouse, but his answer was: "I cannot come with you because you chased me away when I was eating the millet." Again they went to a woman who was harvesting her millet in the field and begged of her a spike of millet, but the woman said: "I can't give you any, because you refused to give me a knife." The elders began to be tired, but they were determined to go to the end of their task at any cost; and so they went to the blacksmith[2] and said to him:" "Moturi, please give us a knife and we will take it to the harvester; she will give us a spike of millet; with that we will catch a striped mouse; we will give the mouse to the vulture, and the vulture will give us feathers, which we will give to the rain-maker, so that he might cause the rain to fall down. Then we will have good grass; we will feed the cow and the cow will give birth to a calf, which will be eaten by Hitimondo, who will consent to be beaten by Kemangururа, who in turn will go to retrieve our cattle from the hands of the Masai." The blacksmith listened attentively to the full story and with a grave countenance said: "Very sorry, but I can't give you a knife because you didn't give me any charcoal."

[1] Before the European occupation of the Kikuyu country the tribe bordered, to a great extent, on the Masai. The Masai are a pastoral tribe and very keen to possess large herds of cattle. They used to raid the Kikuyu tribe very often, driving away great numbers of their cattle.

[2] Iron has been worked by the Akikuyu from time immemorial. Before the arrival of the Europeans they used to collect a blackish sand in certain parts of the country. The iron sand was smelted in primitive little furnaces dug in the ground. The iron was used to make spears, arrows, knives, small chains and ornamental trinkets. The hoe was unknown among them.

Alas! The poor elders were disappointed again and began to be dejected. After some thinking they decided to go to the forest and make charcoal with their own hands. So they got a little bag of charçoal. They gave it to the blacksmith, who gave them a knife. They brought the knife to the harvester, and received a spike of millet, with which they caught a striped mouse. They presented it to the vulture and obtained from him some feathers. They took the feathers to the rainmaker, who with his medicines caused the rain to fall. The grass grew luxuriantly and the cow could be fed. She gave birth to a calf, which was eaten by Hitimondo.

At last the time for the big events has come. Kemangurura steadied himself on the ground, closed his fist tightly and directed his first blow at the head of Hitimondo. Ntaa . . . ! ntaa . . . ! chaa . . . ! chaa . . . ! What happened? Poor Hitimondo went to pieces like a calabash when struck with a heavy stick ; even his bones looked like crushed maize in a pestle. The giant enjoyed himself very much in the game. After that he took in his hands two clubs, the size of a hillock, two spears whose width was equal to 30 ox-skins. He put on his enormous shield and all the paraphernalia our fathers used to wear when going to war, and off he went to the Masai country. He went on and on for three months; at last he arrived at a place where the Masai grazed their herds. He approached an enormous kraal. It was full of men and women. They were feasting, dancing, singing and drinking long draughts of milk and ox blood. Fortune was on his side. With all the strength at his command he flung a club at the raiders and two thousand fell dead on the ground. He flung the second club and this time three thousand were killed. In a moment all was silent, all were dead with the exception of a single survivor. With the help of that survivor Kemangurura rounded up the herds of cattle, took them to his Kikuyu country, where he was met by the elders, the warriors, the womenfolk and the children with interminable shouts of joy and the piercing trilling of the girls. He became very rich and after that he was made chief of the tribe.

## 2. MWENENDEGA AND THE DAUGHTER OF WAGOTHE

Long, long ago when the Ndemi and the Ngumba were ruling our country there was a young man called Mwenendega. He was a handsome youngster, but his father was very poor: they had neither cattle nor food enough for their sustenance.

One day Mwenendega went down to a small river not far from his home. When approaching the left bank of the river, he saw a beautiful girl, very attractive, fair as the moon and bright as the stars in the sky, with a halo on her head like a rainbow. She was nitid and terse like the sun. The youngster greeted her with hesitation and fear, and asked: Kind and beautiful girl, how are you?

I am very well, perhaps better than you. Gracious girl, where is your home?

Why do you put me a question like that? I have no father, no mother and nowhere to stay.

If that is the truth, would you accept to come with me and become my beloved wife?

The girl looked pleased and smiling graciously answered with a sweet voice: With great pleasure I do consent to your proposal, but first of all we must come to an agreement on certain conditions, which I am going to put to you. My one and essential condition is this: that during all our companionship, nay during all our life, you will never ask me about my father or my mother and my country of origin. Mwenendega answered: My dear girl, I quite agree, your condition is very reasonable, I accept it entirely, and I will never ask about your father or mother or your country until the end of our life.

After such pledge she gave him her hand and cheerfully both climbed the river bank, making for the boy's village. Mwenendega built a large and beautiful hut for his girl and in a few days they married. They arranged for a great feast to solemnize the marriage. The relations were invited and they came in great number. There was a family dance and after that the guests were very well fed. There was a great feast, singing, drinking and

merry-making. People were highly surprised at the beauty of the girl.

Many years passed in peace and love and reciprocal understanding. During those happy years seven children were born to Mwenendega and he was very pleased at each new addition to his family. The children grew up and time arrived when the first born should go through the rites of circumcision.[1] I am going to tell you now what happened at that circumstance. When the solemn rites were near the end, just before the candidates shaved the hair of their head, Mwenendega asked his beloved wife: Darling, from the day of our marriage until to-day I never saw your father nor your mother. What has prevented them from coming to-day to see their grand-children how fine and strong they are? Don't you think that they should have taken part in this family feast ? Good heavens! That was the start of disaster! at the sound of those words the gentle lady went frantic. She rose from the ground like a bumping ball, and fell down heavily to penetrate into the earth seven miles deep, shooting in the air stones, trees, rubble and mud like a blast of gunpowder (*rabuta*). Meanwhile she shouted with a terrific voice: My Father, my mother and all my kinsfolk where are they? Children of Mboto, come out. After that cry the old spirits (*ngoma*) came down in great number from the top of mount Kenya carrying beer, goats, cattle and food. They went straight to Mwenendega's house to play havoc. A long blast from a horn was heard in the valley and a heavy roar of drum beating followed. There was great noise in the air and on earth. A frightful storm of hail soon covered the ground with iced stones. The thunder was rumbling in the sky with a terrific noise and the lightning was flashing from one end of the country to the other like a great conflagration. All the inhabitants were extremely terrified and took refuge in the huts and in the caverns near by. Then the old spirits started to pour beer on the earth, and in a few instants the country was flooded and looked like lake Naivasha. Shall I tell you what the old spirits made of the poor Mwenendega? They surrounded him in a big circle shouting: Oh! oh! . . . up! (Karambe!) and in the twinkling of an eye they carried him and his wife and his children to the top of mount Kenya and buried them in a big hole under the stones.

So when you look at Mt. Kenya[2], remember Magothe and his son-in-law; they are there; and that is the reason why our people when they make a sacrifice or slaughter a goat, turn themselves to Mt. Kenya and have a glance at the white spot, lest some misfortune happen to them. This sad event happened in this our Kikuyu country long, long ago at Magothe's place.

## 3. TWO DUPES AND A CUNNING-MAN

Not very long ago, perhaps sixty years, perhaps more, there was a man who possessed a beautiful calf, sleek and round and full of promise. He used to feed it with great care, because he knew it was of real value and a good asset to his home. Usually he gave it a big bundle of sweet potato vines daily, plus some gruel of crushed maize. It was his only consolation, because his wife had been childless for years and years.

One day, as usual, he left the wife at home occupied in preparing some food, saying that he was going to the field to collect the sweet potato vines [3] and would be back soon.

From the field he heard the carousal of beer drinkers in a village nearby. The temptation was too much for him. After all the sun was hot and he was thirsty. Without considering very much

[1] The Akikuyu practice circumcision like the majority of Bantu tribes. The surgical operation, however, should be called more properly incision rather than circumcision, because they do not sever the preputium like the Mohammedans, but make an incision on it. At the same time they have a period of tribal initiation. A man is considered neither full grown nor capable of taking part in a public function until he has completed the initiation ceremonies and the so called circumcision. Females are also circumcized.

[2] The top of Mt. Kenya is considered unapproachable by the Akikuyu. The snowcap, according to them, is the abode of God.

[3] Sweet potatoes are a great asset to the Akikuyu. The potatoes are eaten boiled or roasted and even raw by the young people. The vines provide a much appreciated forage for their penned sheep and calves.

what he had said, he hid the long string he used for tying the bundle, under the potato leaves and went to the feast in the village, sure that he would enjoy a few horns of beer with his chums.

Meanwhile at home a cunning man, called Wakahare, approached his wife and asked: Good woman, where is your husband?

He left just now and went to the garden in the valley to collect a bundle of sweet potato vines for the calf you see there.

What a beautiful calf you have, said Wakahare, very fat, well shaped, but, but . . .

But what? asked the woman very surprised.

Yes, it is very sad. I don't mean to be rude, my dear woman, but according to what I hear everywhere this calf is the cause of your barrenness. You know, I am a medicine man,[1] and I know something about it. But cheer up, my friend, I think I can help you and if you like I am ready to do it very willingly. Imagine your joy when next year you embrace your first born baby! Now listen to me. We must slaughter that calf, which is the cause of your misfortune and I will tell you what to do with its blood and the contents of the stomach (*tatha*). After all, which means more to you, having a calf or a baby?

The lure of a baby of her own in her own arms captured the imagination of the woman; without hesitation she consented to the proposal of Wakahare and the calf was slaughtered. The blood was put into a calabash and the contents of the stomach were collected in a split gourd, the usual recipient at hand in every Kikuyu home. The pretending medicine man intsructed her what to do with the blood and how to use the contents of the stomach and insisted seriously that she should not eat the meat, not a single morsel, lest she remain barren until the end of her life.

It was already late in the day when her husband came with the usual bundle of potato vines. He said to his wife: Take this fodder to the calf; it must be hungry: I had some beer at Kemani's and could not come before.

But there is no calf now, said the woman.

What do you mean?

Well, the calf was slaughtered to-day at noon.

Shut up! I don't like to be fooled by you and besides, mind you, I have had some beer and I am not fully responsible for my actions.

Keep quiet, dear, and I will tell you all about it. A man came here, Wakahare by name, and told me that I certainly would give birth to a child if only I knew how to use the blood of the calf and the contents of its stomach.[2] I knew very well that you are longing for a child as I always do, and after all, what is a calf in comparison with a child! So we slaughtered the calf and here is the blood and the contents of the stomach.

You did so? Oh you dupe! The greatest dupe on earth! Shall I beat you or shall I slaughter you like a goat? And where is the meat?

The meat went with the medicine man. He told me that it was tabu for me to eat that meat. I would never give birth to a child until death.

Oh! oh! Can one immagine a more stupid woman than you? Oh! my dear calf upon which I had planned so much! I will leave this hut; I will travel the whole world until I find another woman as stupid as you; she will be your husband.

The poor man took a staff in his right hand, threw an old blanket on his shoulders and went off. He went on and on for many days: at last he arrived at a village of considerable size and, on making inquiries, he discovered that it was the homestead of a very rich man. Pretending to be an ordinary traveller, he begged for hospitality in a place nearby. Meanwhile he made several investigations about the rich man, his habits, his wives and his possessions. He thought he could play a good trick and try his luck.

One day the rich man went to see his herd

[1] The medicine man is a very important person among the Akikuyu. Even to-day, although sophisticated and educated, the Akikuyu fear the witch-doctor as one endowed with superhuman power. He undergoes a special initiation before entering the profession, after which he is recognized by the tribe. There are also the herbalists who are probably the most useful in the healing profession. Generally the profession passes from father to son.

[2] The contents of the stomach of goats, sheep and cattle are regarded as something sacred by the tribe. They are used when offering sacrifice for a sick person, in blessing a new house, in demarcating a field, in opening the new season, in the rites of initiation and circumcision and many other circumstances.

where they were grazing. It was rather far from his home. The cunning man was spying on his movements and as soon as he thought it safe, he put his plan into action. He smeared mud and dirt all over his body and his head. Thus camouflaged, he went straight to the wife of the rich man. He had taken care to fast for three days, and so he looked very emaciated. He found the woman cooking her food outside the hut. On raising her eyes, she saw the miserable beggar. She was horrified and cried out: Au . . . uh! au . . . uh!

Keep quiet, dear woman, keep quiet. There is nothing to fear, I will do you no harm, said the beggar.

Who are you?

My name is Kemando (that was the name of a man belonging to that family and who died about twelve years before).

What did you say? Repeat, please. She was very scared.

I come to beg something from you, which I need desperately.

What is that?

Money, a big pocket of money. I come in the name of Wagaki and Kanyai. They sent me to you, because all our money is finished and we are in terrible need of food.

I am sorry, Ngoma,[1] said the woman, we had better wait until my husband comes back. There is some gruel here if you like it, help yourself.

No, thanks. We of the other world do not eat the kind of food you eat. Give me money instead, and we will buy the sort of food we usually eat. Listen, woman, if you refuse, I have order to take you with me, you will die, and will feel the pinch of hunger as we often do.

Oh! no! said the woman, I won't die, I am still young. There is plenty of money in this house. I'll give you the money and be off as quickly as you can. She went into the hut and brought forth a big pocket of money, very heavy, and threw it on the ground in front of the beggar. It is heavy, she said, if you like, I can carry it for you and accompany you for some distance.

No, no, said the man, you need not trouble yourself, and besides that, you must not accompany me, otherwise you will never come back again.

Go then said the woman, and go quickly! — A few hours later the rich man came home.

I am tired, he said sitting on his tripod in front of the hut. What sort of food have you prepared for me, Wanjiro?

There is some gruel there in that calabash and the maize is just boiling. But Getonga, I must tell you what happened here this morning when you were away.

What is it?

A man came here, a very ugly creature and very thin, he looked like a skeleton, with a body quite different from our own. He was painted in red and had very long hair. He brought me the greetings of Keriha and Wagaki and Kanyai. They sent him here to take money, because there is great famine in their place and they have absolutely nothing to eat. They want to buy food of the kind they eat there. I offered him some gruel (*ocoro*) but he refused to drink, saying that they do not eat our food. I was very scared by what he said, so I gave him the pocket of money that was in the hut, and off he went. On hearing that, Getonga was furious. He seized the woman by the throat and threw her down on the ground. Looking at her very seriously, he thought it was useless to hit his wife: that wouldn't help. So he asked: Tell me, what path did he take?

That one across the brook. Getonga took a spear in his right hand and swiftly followed the man by the path indicated by his wife. He ran and ran like a gazelle and at last discovered in the distance a man on the road, trudging slowly with a burden on his shoulders. But the rascal had already seen him before and had recourse to a trick of his. He saw a man half naked with a bunch of banana leaves round his loins, weeding

[1] "Ngoma" is a general name for the spirits of the dead. They believe in a second life of the spirit after death. The spirits remain in relation with the living of this world; they are still members of the tribe. The Akikuyu take great care not to grieve them, lest they take terrible revenge on the living in this world. Disease, misfortune and public calamities are generally attributed to them, hence the necessity of appeasing them with sacrifices.

his garden near the path and told him: Dear elder, I understand that you are wanted by the Government. Look there, the chief is coming. Make haste, give me your leaves and your tilling knife and climb that tree as quickly as you can. Meanwhile Getonga arrived perspiring and gasping after his long run. Before taking any rest he asked the cunning man: Have you seen a man passing this way?

A man? Perhaps the one who is there on that tree? Getonga went to the tree and looking up said: Yes, this is the man I want. The poor wretch was told to come down immediately, but he was afraid and could not decide to move. After a while Getonga lost his patience and decided to climb the tree and throw down the robber. In the meantime the real culprit took the bag of money under his arm, put on his shoulder the beautiful blanket left on the ground by Getonga before climbing the tree and swiftly like a leopard, glided into a thick forest nearby and disappeared. All trace of him was lost. He walked day and night and after seven days he arrived at his hut rich and safe.

Poor Getonga, as soon as he discovered that he had been played a bad trick, resigned himself to return to his home. Walking dejected and crestfallen, he was thinking hard: What am I going to say to my wife after my burst of anger with her? Oh yes, I will say this: I have seen for myself that the man was really poor and needy, so I too consented to give him the money and even my blanket. So he did. And his wife added: Didn't you say that I was a fool? I know only too well you never trust me, you are never kind to me.

## 4. NYAGA AND WAKAHARE

Once upon a time there was a man who owed a considerable number of goats[1] to another man. He had borrowed the animals many years before, but he never thought of returning them to the owner. He knew very well the agreement they had and the time fixed by common accord for the restitution of the goats, but that was a matter he didn't like to remember or to think about. The real owner however had a different viewpoint and one day decided to see his debtor and have a little talk with him.

"Good morning, mister Nyaga, I've come to see my goats. Our agreement is already overdue and I wonder why my animals have not yet been returned to me." The debtor had not a single goat in his house. He had sold them all and kept the money for himself. Nyaga said: "Did you come to claim your goats or did you come to insult me? You go back, and insult your wife first, then we will talk about your property."

Is that so? said the owner, to-day you think I am insulting you!

It is rather peculiar that you didn't think in the same way the day you rushed here panting and entreating me for help. All right! I'll see you again to-morrow and you can tell me when you will return my goats. Or perhaps you want some beer as required by custom.

Yes, I want beer. Don't you see how fat I have grown on account of your beer?

The creditor went off with a heavy heart. He was angry and thought of prosecuting him in the local court. The following day he returned to Nyaga and without much ado claimed his property. But the matter didn't go very smoothly. The debtor refused all suggestions, and in a challenging tone said: You can do your worst. Meaning: You may prosecute me, if you like. The creditor answered: "Why didn't you tell me so straight away". Without wasting more

[1] About 50 years ago goats, sheep and cattle were the only things really appreciated as riches among the Akikuyu. It was, and still is, to a certain extent, the currency of the country. With them they could buy wives (another source of richness) fields, agricultural instruments, house implements, ornaments, etc. They were used in the most diverse circumstances of public and private life, such as the birth of a child, circumcision, sickness, public calamities, marriage, funerals and business transactions.

time, he went to the local tribunal[1] and put his case in the hands of the magistrate. When Nyaga knew that, he hurried to consult Wakahare and get advice on how to manage the case and win it. Wakahare said: "Nyaga, if you win, do you agree to share half of your gain with me ?

Yes, sure! I quite agree, but first show me how to win the case and what I am going to say before the judge.

Listen! Wakahare said: When you are in front of the judge and are confronted and questioned by the plaintiff, the elders and what not, your answer must be always this: Ng'oo ! ng'oo ! and nothing else. Do you understand me?

Yes, Ng'oo! ng'oo!

That's right. Say again.

Ng'oo! ng'oo!

Good! Let us go now.

So they went to the tribunal house. The creditor, the judge and the elders were already there, so the case opened immediately. The judge asked Nyaga: What is your name?

Ng'oo! ng'oo!

Is your name Nyaga?

Ng'oo! ng'oo!

Don't be silly, tell us your name.

Ng'oo! ng'oo!

But this is an imbecile, said the judge. Surprised and a little embarassed he questioned the creditor: Is this the man you intend to prosecute?

Yes, he is. He is in possession of my goats and . . . and that is contrary to our agreement. Then the judge asked Nyaga: "Man, have you received any goat from this man?

Ng'oo! ng'oo!

He, he! U. . . uh! exclaimed the judge, why did you bring me an imbecile who can't even speak properly? Then he asked the creditor: How could you come to an agreement with a man like that? I am sure your accusation is a sheer lie. The case is dismissed. Get out, we have no time to waste. So Nyaga returned to his home without paying a farthing. He was very glad and full of joy in his heart and started singing: Oi! oi! eyah! the stupid man became rich. He! he! the fool has won the case !

As soon as Wakahare heard of the good success, he rejoiced too, and soon went to pay a visit to Nyagá, to congratulate him, and . . . and . . . yes, to remind him of the agreement about sharing the profit.

My hearty congratulations, my dear friend, said Wakahare to Nyaga, you followed my instructions exactly and your success is simply wonderful. You are excellent in simulating. Now, what about our agreement? Shall we count the goats just now or . . . ? I should like to settle the matter this very day.

Ng'oo! ng'oo! was the only answer of Nyaga.

What's that? do you pretend to be a fool even now?

Ng'oo! ng'oo!

But, pray! speak as you did before the case.

Ng'oo! ng'oo!

What has happened? have you become a real fool ?

Ng'oo! ng'oo!

Wakahare was highly surprised and began to believe that Nyaga had changed into a real fool. His voice was changed and the man could not speak properly any more. "What can I do, he said to himself, I can't help him. I taught him to grunt like that, let him grunt, after all he is a rich man now. On the other hand I have not much reason to complain. I have lost nothing. And saying so, he went home. Nyaga was more than satisfied with his buisness. He was left alone by all the creditors and became a rich man. Wile can outweigh strength, say the Kikuyu elders.

[1] Native tribunals consisted of a group of elders who had complied with special fomalities in order to be recognized by the judging group (*kyama*). Oratorial qualities were not essential for election as a new candidate. Each location possessed a group of such approved elders to deal with local disputes. Their sentence could be altered only by an appeal for a second hearing or by having resource to another group of elders in conjunction with the first group. After that the sentence was final. They had special retainers for the execution of the sentence. Fees were payable to the group of elders. Generally they consisted of food, meat, and sugar cane beer.

## 5. MOREMI AND MOGWEMI

Long, long ago there was an old man who had three sons: one with a defective nose, the other lacking one ear and the third without any corporal deformation and a very handsome young man. He was very pleased with his sons and rejoicing in his heart he said: "With the help of my three sons I will become rich. The people of the village however, despised him and used to call him "the father of the deformed children". One of the deformed sons became a hunter and was called "Mogwemi"[1]; the other cultivated the land and was called "Moremi".

The father began to show his preference for the normal son and one day he told him: "Kalioki, you are my beloved son. From now on you will graze my cattle and you will control all the business transactions of the house. Nobody will begin a new enterprise without consulting you and obtaining your consent." Thus he became responsible for the house and could give orders to his brothers and to his father's wives and children.

When the three sons became of age, they thought of getting married. That was a very easy matter for the privileged son, because he had at his command as many cattle and goats as he liked, but for the other two poor unfortunates the position was not so rosy and not so pleasant either. Their father did not seem to take any interest in them and left them alone to fend for themselves. Poor wretches! What could they do to improve their condition? They resigned themselves to work, and work in the certainty that some day good luck would smile also on them. Moremi worked very hard in his fields. He never went to the dances, never went loafing on the ridges of the hills teasing the girls and playing tricks as the African youngsters generally do. He spent all his time in the fields digging, weeding and harvesting. He reaped very good crops without the help of the girls. He was the laughing stock of the womenfolk, but he didn't care a scrap for their gossip and kept himself very busy, selling his grain in the intervals allowed by his garden work.

After a few years he had accumulated a great sum of money[2] which he buried cautiously in the mother's hut in a hiding place, known only to himself and his mother.

In the meantime his brother Mogwemi was also attended by good fortune. One day he dug a big and very deep pit in the forest as a trap for elephants. He got his reward very soon. One morning he heard a great noise at the pit. He ran to see what had happened there. Yes, an enormous elephant was trapped at the bottom of the pit between the walls of earth. He was still furious and making a great noise in an effort to extricate himself, but in vain; the pit was very deep and narrow, there was no way of escape. How could one describe the joy of Mogwemi? As he was single handed and had no intention of making a great fuss about it, he took two very sharp spears, smeared some poison[3] on them and with a firm hand lodged them in the back of the beast. They penetrated very deeply. After a while the poison began to work and the elephant sank down slowly as if overcome by sleep. Within one hour all was silent and still in the pit. The elephant was dead. With the help of a rope Mogwemi descended the pit and working very hard with a sharp axe, he extracted two beautiful and very big tusks from the skull of the beast. They were a real treasure for him. He sold them to the traders: one tusk for 60 goats and the other one for 120 Rupees. The father knew nothing of the business.

Shortly after that the brothers met secretly one day to plan their future. Nogwemi said: "My

[1] "Moremi" means agriculturist and "Mogwemi" means hunter. Hunting must have been the first occupation of the Kikuyu pioneers, but with the increase of the population, agriculture became a necessity. The fertility of the soil encouraged its development.

[2] The mention of money in this fable induces us to believe that the mentality of the tribe at the time of the narration had already adapted itself to the value of money in commercial transactions. The Indian rupee was introduced by the E.A. Company and adopted for some time by the British Government when the Colony and Protectorate passed to the Crown. Besides live-stock, the Akikuyu used cowry, imported beads and brass wire as local currency.

[3] Hunters used to smear poison on their arrows. It was extracted by boiling the leaves and twigs of a tree called "Moricho" (Acokanthera Schimperi Schweinf.) very common in dry districts.

brother, as you see, we are despised by our parents and our relations. Do you despise me as well?" Moremi said: "How on earth can I despise you, you being my brother?"

You have realized a very good capital from your crops, haven't you Moremi?

Yes, thank God, I have no reason to complain, my income has been very good. And you, Mogwemi, How is your hunting going?

Very well too, my dear brother. I think the time has come when we can plan for ourselves independently of our parents. You have got a large and beautiful estate. What do you think if we build our huts on that land and leave for ever this place and our relations who have no regard for us?

But how can we build a home without a wife?

That is very easy. Now you are rich and I am not poor. We will get married very soon after we have built our huts. So they agreed completely on the plan. They built two beautiful large huts on the land of Moremi and enclosed them with a very strong palisade of poles and thorns as the rich men used to do. People were looking at them with great surprise and were curiously waiting the outcome of that novelty. In a few weeks they were able to choose the best girls of the nearby villages for their wives. In a very short time the two homes were completed to the last detail and the two despised brothers were considered as respectable people and very well to do too, among the country folk of the district.

When the father heard the real story of his sons, he began to think hard and deeply to regret his behaviour towards his two sons. He knew long before, he said, that those two sons would become rich one day. "Yes, I was wrong, he admitted, when I started to depise them. Their deformities didn't prevent them from getting rich. I do not depise them any longer . . . I will leave this place and go to stay with them." He called his wives and said: "I am going to stay with my deformed sons."

The wives and the children were dismayed at the announcement of the old man and said: "You go to enjoy yourself and feed well with fat and beer and leave us in want and misery? No, no, we will follow you and stay with your sons.

When the two brothers saw their people coming to them, they were highly surprised and asked them: "Where are you going? Are you not ashamed to come and stay with the deformed?[1] (*ciogo*). Or have you changed your mind and begun to appreciate the deformed ones because they are rich now? Yes we remember now the saying of the Wakamba: "When you are poor, the children of your brother would not call you uncle". But now we are rich you recognize us as your relatives. Let us forget all that. Come, stay with us and have food and drink as much you like."

They built their huts near the brothers' compound and spent the rest of their life in full harmony and cooperation, to the contentment of the whole community. The old man used to say: "Truly, the saying of our ancestors is right: Where there is a will there is a way and wherever there is a boy in the family you will never fail to have an ox head for the festive season."

## 6. WAMOGUMO AND WAKAGUMO

In times gone by there was a man in this our Kikuyu country who had only two wives. He was regarded as a poor man, because in those days a man was considered rich only if he possessed a good number of wives and children. His name was Wanyahoro. The first wife was called Wanjiro and the other one Wangoi. Each wife gave birth to a boy and according to the Kikuyu custom, they were called after their grand-father, whose name was Wamogumo. In order to avoid confusion, one boy was called Wamogumo and the other one Wakagumo.

Time passed away and the two wives died. Wanyahoro was very old and one day he found himself very sick and near to die. He called his two sons to his bedside, to hear last wishes and to divide between them the few possessions he had. He was a poor man. He left to his sons only two asses, one to each son and died in peace.

[1] Deformed people are a rare occurrence among the Akikuyu. In the old time defective babies, and twins in special circumstances, were destroyed.

One day Wakagumo wished to see his uncle who was staying in a village a little further off and asked Wamogumo to look after his ass during his absence, he would surely be back in the afternoon.

Wamogumo consented, but he was a wicked man and could not suffer to see his brother equal to him in possession. So without saying a word, he killed the ass[1] of his brother. When the brother returned home, he was shocked and deeply grieved for the loss he had suffered. Nevertheless he didn't quarrel, he didn't even say a word, but took a knife and quietly started to skin the carcass. He cut the skin in many strips, which are very much appreciated by the Kikuyu women for tying and carrying their loads on their back. The thongs were supple and looked very strong. He took them to the market and in a very short time the whole lot was sold at a very high price. He returned home much satisfied and with many good things he would never have dreamt it possible for him to possess. He went to Wamogumo and said: "I thank you, brother, you have helped me so much in killing my ass. I am really grateful to you. I took the meat to the market. People liked it very much and in less than half an hour it was sold out. I got a lot of things and goats out of the profit, sufficient to make me rich.

On hearing that, Wamogumo set himself thinking and decided to kill his ass too and sell the meat at the market. As soon as he arrived there with the meat, he shouted out: "Here is good ass meat! Come here, and see the good meat!" When the people heard that he was selling ass meat, all of them resented very much and took it as an insult. They went furious. With their fists raised above their heads they approached him shouting, gesticulating and threatening to beat him. They drove him away from market throwing stones after him. Confused and defeated, he returned home with a firm purpose of taking a revenge on his brother's success. He went to the house of Wakagumo and without saying a word, killed his mother. When Wakagumo returned home from his work, he found his mother dead. He did not lose his temper, neither made a great fuss of the crime. With calm and reverence he washed the corpse of his mother,[2] dressed it in new clothes, arranged her ornaments in the fashion she used to do when she was alive. He went to a friend of his and borrowed an ass. He fastened a comfortable seat on the back of the animal and graciously put up his mother in a sitting position. Proceeding in front of the ass, he went to the market. On his arrival there, he found a man who had 200 goats for sale. Wakagumo tied his ass to a tree in a grassy place and left it there with his mother on it. He went to see the goats and concluded a good bargain with the proprietor. But he had not got money enough to pay the price of the goats. So, pointing to his mother, he told the owner: "Go and see that lady, she will give you the balance of your account". He went to her and said: "Gracious lady, I am sent to you by your son for money, so that we may settle our account." The woman curled her lips and made a noise which meant a great insult among the Akikuyu. She was believed dead, but in reality she was not. She did not speak. The trader resented very much the insult. He lost his temper and hit the woman in her face with a heavy slap. The old woman lost her balance and fell on the ground. Wakagumo ran hastily to her help lamenting loudly: "Ohi! ohi! you have killed my mother! you have killed my mother!" In a few moments they found themselves surrounded by all sorts of people from the market and all said that the arrogant man should be prosecuted for his crime. Wakagumo proposed a compromise. He told the seller: "Let me have your goats and I will be satisfied; I will no longer prosecute you. Mind, if you want the case discussed in court, the witnesses are so many that your own skin will be at stake. You will be condemned to death". The

[1] In the present days the use of asses as carriers by the Akikuyu is not uncommon, but in the beginning of the century it was a thing unthought of. With the British occupation they came in friendly contact with the Borans and the Somali tribes from whom they got their asses.

[2] Mention of the mother's corpse may be allowed in the narration of a folk-tale. In reality the Akikuyu in general, especially in the early days, have a great horror for the dead. They used to abandon the corpses in the bush to be devoured by hyenas. To touch a corpse was considered unclean and the person doing so, had to be purified with the sacrifice of a sheep.

seller accepted the proposal without discussion. He gave all his goats to Wakagumo and swiftly disappeared from the market. So Wakagumo returned home with 200 goats, a real capital for him, and radiant with satisfaction presented himself to his brother and said: "You thought to revenge yourself when you killed my mother, instead you made me rich. Look at this flock of goats. I got all these at the market in exchange for the corpse of my mother. Wamogumo on hearing the story thought to do the same with his mother, sure that he will become rich in the same way. The wicked man killed his mother and took the corpse to the market shouting: "Who wants to buy a corpse? Here is one, and a beautiful one." The people of the market became furious at the insult and this disregard for the dead. They seized the wicked man, bit him like a stray dog and menacing with raised sticks, expelled him from the market. Wamogumo returned home with a heavy heart and poorer than before. He was sick of this situation. He could not bear thinking that he was inferior to his brother. While struggling with his ill luck, an idea flashed through his mind. He would play another trick on his rival and surely this time he would succeed. He began plaiting a great granary basket [1] with fine twigs as the Kikuyu know how, and used to do. After a week the work was finished. He invited Wakagumo to his home, asking him to give him a hand in fixing it up in front of his hut. Wakagumo came, congratulated his brother on his nice work and expressed some criticism about the aperture that he thought was rather small.

Small you say? said Wamogumo, not at all, you can easily go through. I don't think so.

Try to go in and you will be convinced without any further argument. Wakagumo tried and without suspecting anything, went in very easily. As soon as he was in, Wamogumo closed the aperture from the outside, dragged away the big basket and with a great effort threw it into the lake, which was not far from his homestead. The basket was very heavy and fell just on the edge of the water, not in the deep water as it was intended. Then Wamogumo ran away very qiuckly. A little while passed, and a shepherd came to the lake with his cattle for the daily drinking. "Lucky man, said Wakagumo from the basket, come, come quickly I have a message for you from God himself from where I come." The shepherd asked: "But where is God?"

Open the aperture of the basket, I want to come out and tell you all about it. As soon as he was outside, Wakagumo said to the shepherd: "The message is very long and complicated. You had better go inside the basket and hear the message yourself directly from God. It is easier and besides, you will enjoy the wonderful sight of God. The shepherd had a peep inside the basket and allured by the novelty, slid in like a cat. As soon as he was in, Wakagumo closed the aperture from the outside and hurriedly pushed the basket into the deep water. The basket sank and the poor shepherd died. Wakagumo took possession of the cattle and went home richer than ever before. He told his brother "Do you see all this cattle? I found them in the lake into which you threw me the other day. There are still plenty at the bottom of it. Wamogumo believed him. He worked again for another couple of weeks and built another basket the size of the first, brought it near the lake, entered into it and asked Wakagumo to push it into the deep water where the cattle were to be found. Wakagumo pushed the basket into the water with a long pole until he saw it sinking slowly under the water. The basket sank and disappeared with Wamogumo for ever.

See to what extremes the hideous passion of envy leads.

## 7. THE SHEPHERDS, THE AGRICULTURALISTS, AND THE BLACKSMITHS

In the days of yore a man arrived by chance in Kikuyuland. He wandered alone from place to place longing to meet a fellow traveller, but he

[1] They are the grain stores of the Natives. They look like large round baskets of plaited twigs covered with a roof of grass shaped like an open umbrella. The ordinary dimensions are 6' x 5'. They are built on a trellis above the ground to avoid the ravage of the white ants. They are an ideal home for rats.

encountered only animals and trees. One day his knee became sore. At first he gave no heed to it, but after some time the knee swelled so big that he could no longer move about. Unable any longer to endure the pain, he decided to cut open the swelling and find out what was wrong. He made a careful incision into the skin and to his great surprise, three children sprang out.[1] After this the pain disappeared. In a short time the children grew to be boys and before long were grown up men.

The four men lived happily together, owners of the whole Kikuyu country. They fed on game, fruit and roots of trees. Many of the animals became accustomed to them and one of the three youths amused himself by making friends with these tamer animals supplying them with young grass, leaves and other foods. Because of this tendency of his, he was called "Moreithi", shepherd. By night the animals gathered round his hut and he guarded them against wild animals. While his brothers went hunting far away, he had no need to exert himself in this manner, because he had supplies of meat and skins at hand. These animals were rendered still more approachable by the man's friendly care for them. They were the cattle, sheep and goats which are now so dear to the Akikuyu.

Moreithi saw his flock increasing day by day, and after a time the idea occurred to him to build a large enclosure called *nganatha*, where in the evening the animals were assembled to pass the night. He was the first who thought of looking after stock and gaining by it and the Areithi of the present day are his disciples.

The second youth showed an altogether different disposition: his pastime was to spend all the day in the forest or in the heath looking for plants, roots, fruit for broiling or eating. Every night he went home with a new discovery: roots, fruit, leaves of various sorts. He found out the sweet potatoes, the *ikwa*, yam, the *indoma*, arum lily, the beans, bananas, *njogo*, dove peas, etc,. etc., which alternating with the game and the goats of Moreithi provided amply for the wants of the four men.

[1] Birth from the leg is an Ancient Egyption story.

After eating sweet potatoes or any other vegetable, the refuse was thrown not far from the hut and to their surprise they noticed that during the rains the latter took root and grew. The second son took an interest in this fact and prepared a piece of land where he transplanted all the varieties of vegetables he had found in the forest and in the open : on this acccount he was called by his brothers "Moremi", agriculturist.

Moremi after some time, no longer tired himself going round for food but produced enough food for himself and for the others from his fields, which he went on extending and cultivating with a *monyago* and a *moro*. His brothers were very well satisfied with him and so, to encourage him to work, they composed a song which even up to the present is called *Rwembo rwa mogonda*, the song of the field.

While they were living in peace in this fashion a thing happened which provided the third son with an occupation. One day he was arranging the hole where they were accustomed to light the fire and broil the potatoes. Turning over the ashes with his hand, he happened to come across a hard and black coloured substance. He took it out, observed it carefully: it was very heavy. He examined it all over; it had one side sharp and it was very hard. He doubted its strength and he threw it into the air, but it fell down without breaking. Then he thought of putting it back into the fire and trying whether it changed into earth again. After some time the stone turned red, so red that it could not be distinguished from the other coals. He thought of striking it while it was red and seeing if it was still as hard as before. He struck with a piece of wood, but this had no effect; he struck with another stone which broke. He then searched for another piece of black stone like that he had put into the fire, and to his surprise he found that at each stroke the burning stone became flatter. He struck it to the thinness of a blade. He was excited with joy; he tried to cut with it a sugar cane which in an instant was stripped and divided up. That is why to the present day the Akikuyu always take a sugar cane to the blacksmith when they go to have their knives forged.

His brothers and father were overjoyed by the novelty and all agreed to call him "Moturi", blacksmith. Moturi perfected himself in his trade. He forged arrows, spears, knives and even razors. He is called the father of the Kikuyu blacksmiths. The four men were now happy and lacked nothing. The father thought then of causing his sons to marry and establish themselves definitively in that country; and as the Kikuyu was then entirely uninhabited, he went back to the country whence he had come to find out in his own tribe some girls ready to be married. He did not experience great difficulty in persuading some to follow him and live in Kikuyu with his sons. They were married, begot sons and daughters, and in a short time they occupied the best parts of the Kikuyu country. They always helped one another in their needs and up to the present shepherds, agriculturalists and blacksmiths go on considering themselves as members of one large family, the family of the Akikuyu.

## 8. THE MAN-EATERS

Ten Kikuyu girls decided one day to go on a long journey in order to avoid being troubled by the boys, who annoyed and insulted them every time they refused a dance with them. Having provided themselves with a good supply of food for the journey, they left their homes. One of them had a little brother, who by no means would abandon her and joined the party. The journey lasted a month; after which they found themselves in the middle of a large country, where stood a big hut built in the bush. There they met a man-eater,[1] whom they believed to be a respectable man. He was very rich and slaughtered ten goats, so that the girls might eat their fill. In the evening he showed them a large bed for the night. The little boy slept by the door.

At midnight the man-eater sharpened a knife. He had planned to kill the girls and devour them. The noise awakened the boy who cried: "Mother, what do you want? Why have you got up at midnight?" The man-eater said: "My son, are you hungry that you have not gone to sleep yet?" "Yes, mother." The man-eater killed a goat, roasted the meat and gave it to the boy. The boy refused to eat it alone but shared it with the girls.

After several months the girls got enormously fat. One day the man-eater went out to call on other man-eaters, his friends in the neighbourhood and said to them: "Come to my house the day after to-morrow with knives, water and firewood, because I have a big goat to slaughter. The boy and the girls had gone out to enjoy the morning sunshine. A fly rested on the face of one of the girls and spoke to her. The girl was vexed and tried to drive it away, but it came back and said: "I want some blood from you, but if you refuse, I will not tell you the message I have for you, and if you meet with bad luck, it will be your fault." The boy persuaded his sister to prick her finger. The fly sucked at the drop of blood, then spoke again and said: "Your destiny has been decided: the day after to-morrow all of you are to be devoured by the man-eaters. Do thus: go quickly to the forest, cut boughs and tall grass and wrap your bodies with them. They did so; and the boy camouflaged all the girls. They looked like bundles of green grass walking about.

The man-eaters who had been invited met them on their way and marvelled at the strange procession and said joking: "To day even the grass is walking, it will be a great feast." They did not pay much heed to them and went their way. The owner of the house arrived at the hut the night before and saw that the girls had run away, and many of his belongings had disappeared. He got frightened thinking that his friends, believing themselves to have been fooled, would kill him and devour him. So he dug a big hole in the place occupied by the fire. He worked at it the whole day and at night sqatted in it, covering the opening with a large slate.

[1] Cannibalism has never been practised by the Akikuyu: on the contrary it has always been abhorred. How they could have included the man-eater in their folk-tales is a matter for speculation. Probably the ancestors of the tribe had some contact with an anthropophagous tribe and the tradition descended through the generations like our ogres of the times gone by. The narrators imagine the man-eater just like an ordinary man, but with two mouths, one in front and one in the nape.

The guests came and found the house empty. They searched on the trellis over the fire place: nothing was there but skulls and bones which the man-eater had left before disappearing. During the search a skull rolled down on the fire place and broke the slate which covered the hole. The hidden man-eater was discovered. The other man-eaters resented very much the trick; so they killed him, roasted him and ate him.

The girls, thanks to the little boy, reached their homes safe and sound welcomed by their relations, who thought they were lost for ever.

[*(to be continued)*

## BOOK REVIEW

**Dictionnaire Ngbandi,** by P. B. Lekens: (De Sikkel, Antwerp, 1952.) xii+348 pp. Frs. Belg 270.

This very creditable publication is Volume 1 of the Linguistic section of "Sciences de l'Homme" of the "Annales du musée du Congo Belge", Tervuren.

Ngbandi is a Sudanic language spoken for the most part in the Ubangi district of Northern Congo Belge, and also found in the adjoining French territory. The author gives a minimum of 115,000 speakers in Congo, but points out that it is widely understood among the neighbouring tribes of the district, and that the well-known Sango of French Equatorial Africa is but "a simplified form of Ngbandi."

Like a number of languages of this area Ngbandi uses the velar-stop implosives (*ngb*, *kpm*, *kpw* in this orthography); one would have liked a fuller explanation of the formation of these sounds than that given, and also an explanation of the digraph *nv*. Is the *n* homorganic, i.e. dentilabial ?

Ngbandi naturally depends largely on tone, and the author has used Westermann's suggestions in his method of economising in tone marking. Similar principles have been applied to reduce the marking of nasalized vowels, which are of frequent occurrence, but practically confined to an association with nasal consonants.

The author points out that he has included only the more usual words, not attempting to be exhaustive, and draws attention to the richness of the language in "adverbs". Examination reveals that the large majority of these are really ideophones ('lautbilder' is the term used by German scholars), many of them being commonly used reduplicated. A special study of these would yield valuable results.

A valuable aspect of this dictionary is provided in the numerous idiomatic sentences illustrating most of the entries — and there must be about 3,000 Ngbandi entries and about 4,000 French ones. At times the author has resorted to the use of Nederlands words in explanation, when he feels that they come nearer to Ngbandi idiom than the French. He might have added the part of speech to each entry: that is strangely omitted altogether.

The book is well printed on good paper and very well bound. It is encouraging to know that there is shortly to appear a much bigger work by the same author — Dictionnaire Ngbandi-Néerlandais-Français. We look forward to this.

C.M.D.

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# NOTES ON THE CONCORDS IN XHOSA AND ZULU, THEIR DIFFERENCES AND GENERAL ASPECT

W. BOURQUIN

*SYNOPSIS*

*Xhosa and Zulu show some differences in their concords. Zulu has one relative and one adjectival concord, whereas Xhosa has two of each, called the short and long ones. The latter are identical with the Zulu concords and are composite forms. Their first element consists of a formative* a- *which indicates the relative connection. The second element consists in one case of the verbal concords, in the other of concords identical with the nominal prefixes proper, which two types are at the base of all concords in Bantu. The relative formative* a- *is originally the same as the article which was repeated concordially, as is still done in Xhosa, which uses it only after antecedents which have the article. Zulu has lost this distinction. Therefore it has only one relative and one adjectival concord. — There is no need for a special "enumerative concord" in Xhosa. The Zulu enumerative concord is identical with the short adjectival concord in Xhosa.*

Xhosa and Zulu are very closely related. Their vocabulary, as far as it concerns true Bantu words, their grammar and syntax have so much in common that a Xhosa will understand a Zulu without great difficulty and vice versa. Still there are differences which give each language its peculiar features. Such differences are *inter alia* also found in the use of their concords.

For comparision the following grammars have been used.

*A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa Speaking*, W. G. Bennie. Lovedale Press 1939.

*A Xhosa Grammar*, J. McLaren. Revised by G. H. Welsh. Longmans, Green & Co, Third edition 1942.

*Text-Book of Zulu Grammar*, C. M. Doke. Longmans. Green & Co., Fourth edition 1950.

There is some difference in the terminology, as Bennie and Welsh did not accept all terms given in Doke's "Bantu Linguistic Terminology" 1935.

Bennie defines the concords as "formative elements, put before nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs, or their equivalents, to link them up with the nouns to which they refer." (p. 44).

Although Xhosa is the basis of this little study, it seems best, when comparing the concords, to follow the list given in the Zulu grammar, for there they have been more specified than in the other grammars. In §711 it is stated: "There are six types of concord in Zulu, the adjectival, relative, enumerative, possessive, subjectival and objectival concords."

For practical purposes we shall deal with them in another sequence.

## I. THE SUBJECTIVAL AND OBJECTIVAL CONCORD

Doke calls them also "Predicative concords", Bennie: "Verb concords, subject and object concord", Welsh: "Pronominal particles".

The designation "concord" for the concordial element itself is of more recent usage and has practical advantages. In using this term one should however not forget what Bleek said in his "Comparative Grammar of South African Languages" (p. 102), namely that "these marks of concord are to be considered as true pronouns, i.e. as the mere representatives of the nouns to which they

respectively refer". Also the absolute pronouns have no other function. The difference is that the latter can stand alone whereas the former cannot do so. But this does not do away with their common character. Professor Doke rightly says of the absolute pronoun (§235), that it is "in short a concord converted into a complete word". On the other hand therefore expressions such as "pronominal prefixes, conjunctive or connective pronouns" which are used by most of the continental Bantuists can not be regarded as wrong, for they describe quite clearly function, form and limitations of the concordial element.

The verbal concords are the same in Xhosa and Zulu with the exception of the form for the first pers. sing. which is *ndi* in Xhosa and *ngi* in Zulu.

According to various classes (Meinhof) they are as follows:

| | subj. | obj. |
|---|---|---|
| 1st pers. sing. | *ndi* (X) | *ndi* |
| | *ngi* (Z) | *ngi* |
| 2nd pers. sing. | *u* | *ku* |
| 1st pers. plur. | *si* | *si* |
| 2nd pers. plur. | *ni* | *ni* |
| Classes : | | |
| 1 | *u, a* | *mu* |
| 2 | *ɓa* | *ɓa* |
| 3 | *u* | *wu* |
| 4 | *i* | *yi* |
| 5 | *li* | *li* |
| 6 | *a* | *wa* |
| 7 | *si* | *si* |
| 8 | *zi* | *zi* |
| 9 | *i* | *yi* |
| 10 | *zi* | *zi* |
| 11 | *lu* | *lu* |
| 14 | *ɓu* | *ɓu* |
| 15 | *ku* | *ku* |

Both forms of the first pers. sing. are represented in other Bantu languages. The form *ndi* is also found in Venda, Sena, Tete, Ndonga, Kuanyama. The form *ngi* occurs as *gi* in Phuthi, *ke* (subj.) in Sotho, *ngi* in Mbundu.

II. THE POSSESSIVE CONCORDS

These concords also are the same in both languages. They are a combination of the subjectival concords with a formative *–a*, as in nearly all Bantu languages.

The vowel is contracted with following *a*, *i*, *u* to *a*, *e*, *o:*

*indlu yamadoda*, the hut of the men
*ubude ɓemithi*, the length of the trees
*amandla omlilo*, the strength of the fire

Also the special possessive concord of class 1a is the same in both languages.

III THE RELATIVE CONCORD

1. An essential difference must however be noted between Xhosa and Zulu in the relative construction and therefore in the so called relative concord.

The relative construction is more complicated in Xhosa than in Zulu as a glance through the grammars will show. Besides that Jeanjaquet has pointed out more of its intricacies in his two papers on the relative clause in Xhosa, which appeared in this Journal Vol. 4, 1945 No. 1 and 4.

For our purposes the main features only need to be pointed out. Bennie gives for Xhosa two sets of the relative concord. These are called by him the short and the long one. Zulu however has only one set which is used invariably in all relative constructions.

2. *The short relative concord in Xhosa:*

The concords are exactly the same as the subjectival concords without any further addition. Therefore it can be rightly maintained, that in this case no relative concords are employed at all. There is however this difference, that in their relative capacity these verb concords have a lower tone. But as to their linguistic character they are identical with the subjectival concords.

3. *The long relative concord in Xhosa:*

This is the same as the general relative concord in Zulu. It is called the long one in Xhosa, as the short concord has been extended by a formative *a–* which was prefixed to the subjectival concords. It coalesces with a following vowel to

*o, e, a* in classes 1, 3, 4, 6, 9 and becomes likewise *o, e, a* in the other classes commencing with consonants by assimilation to the following vowel.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st pers. sing | *a–ndi* | = *endi*(X) |
| | *a–ngi* | = *engi* (Z) |
| 2nd pers. sing. | *a–u* | = *o* |
| 1st pers. pl. | *a–si* | = *esi* |
| 2nd pers. plur. | *a–ni* | = *eni* |

Classes :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *a–u* | = | *o* |
| | *a–a* | = | *a* |
| 2 | *a–ba* | = | *aba* |
| 3 | *a–u* | = | *o* |
| 4 | *a–i* | = | *e* |
| 5 | *a–li* | = | *eli* |
| 6 | *a–a* | = | *a* |
| 7 | *a–si* | = | *esi* |
| 8 | *a–zi* | = | *ezi* |
| 9 | *a–i* | = | *e* |
| 10 | *a–zi* | = | *ezi* |
| 11 | *a–lu* | = | *olu* |
| 14 | *a–bu* | = | *obu* |
| 15 | *a–ku* | = | *oku* |

Bennie arrives at these forms in the following way (p. 83): "qualificative *a* + the full prefix of the noun, nasals being dropped". But I think this is a wrong way to arrive at these forms and that they have not originated in this manner as they are obviously an extension of the forms in the short relative.

Bennie is further of opinion that this relative formative *a–* is the same as that which is used with the possessives. This view is also held by Ashton in "Notes on Form and Structure in Bantu Speech" (Africa 1945 Jan.), where this formative is called the "*–A of Relationship*". Ashton thinks that it is also contained in the adverbial formatives *nga*, *kwa*, as well as in *na*. But it seems that still more material is needed to solve the difficult question whether the *a* in all these cases is originally the same.

4. *Employment of the relative concord:*

The two types of relative concord are employed in Xhosa according to strict rules. The short concord is used whenever the antecedent has no article, as in connection with the demonstrative pronoun, in the vocative, after the emphatic form of the absolute pronoun and in certain negative expressions. The long concord is employed in Xhosa whenever the antecedent has the article. In Zulu this concord is used throughout whether the antecedent has the article or not.[1]

5. *Examples*: X*hosa short concord, antecedent without article:*

*Andiyiva loo nto uyithethayo.* I do not hear what you say.

*Mkhonzi ndini ukhohlakeleyo ulivila!* Thou wicked and slothful servant!

*Esona sando sinexabiso.* The hammer which is most valuable.

*Akwazeki nokuba eyona nto iyinene yiyiphina.* It is not even known which is the real truth.

*Akwabakho mntu wazi nto ngayo.* There was nobody who knew anything about it.

*Asinto ibafaneleyo abantu bam.* It is not a thing which befits my people.

6. X*hosa long relative concord, antecedent with article:*

*Imali oyichithileyo nemali osenayo.* The money which you have spent and which you still have.

*Iintaka esazibona izolo.* The birds which we saw yesterday.

*Wafika ngosuku olulandelayo.* He arrived on the following day.

*Sabona ngeqheya elisebenza apha evenkileni.* We

[1] I am aware that Professor Doke objects to the use of the term article for the initial vowel, as it is no word which can stand by itself and is therefore no part of speech. But in other languages the application of this term is not made dependent on this condition. Most articles are weakened or detrite forms of demonstrative pronouns and can stand hardly by themselves or have any sense without their noun. Also the English articles, according to Fowler, are considered by some as proclitics. In Afrikaans the indefinite article written '*n* cannot stand alone. Also in Hebrew the "article" is closely united with its noun. In Scandinavian languages some "articles" are enclitics as Danish *hus-et* the house, Swedish *gosse-n* the boy. H. Gray in "Foundations of languages" shows that Rumanian has the "postfixed article", as *pom* tree, *pomul* the tree, from Vulgar Latin *pomus ille*. — In all these cases the use of the term article is based on its function.

saw a Hottentot who works here in the store.

*Zizo izindlu ezakhiwa nguye.* These are the huts which were built by him.

7. *Zulu relative concord, antecedent without article:*

*Lenyamazana eyozingelwa kusasa nguwe.* The game that is going to be hunted to morrow is yourself.

*Lafikake lelolanga elikhonjiwe.* The appointed day came.

*Wena muntundini owahlulelayo!* You man who pass judgement!

*Nceku elungileyo ethembekayo!* Good and faithful servant!

*Kodwa okuyilonagama edumé ngalo kakhulu.* But the name by which it is best known.

*Ngingaßoni-muntu ongißonayo.* Not noticing anybody who saw me.

8. *Zulu relative concord, antecedent with article:*

*Ngiletha umoyana engiwuzwayo.* I bring a little news that I heard.

*Umuntu oyazi kahle lendaßa nguMagonondo.* The man who knows this affair well is Magonondo.

*Ɓayakuthengisa ukudla aßangakudingiyo.* They sell the food which they do not require.

*Nenyoni ephaphayo iyakußona.* Even the bird which flies about sees you.

*Nxa uhamba ngomgwaqo osuka eThekwini.* When you go by the road which starts from Durban.

*Kukhona ihlathi elißizwa ngokuthi iDlinza.* There is a forest which is called Dlinza.

9. *The original form:*

There arises the question which of the two forms is the original one. Was there formerly only one form as in Zulu, besides which a second one as in Xhosa developed, or were there originally in Zulu likewise two forms, of which one was later eliminated? Ancient speech is generally more elaborate and tends to become simplified in course of time. The development of English from Anglo-Saxon and Afrikaans from Nederlands is a clear proof of this. So we can certainly assume that the two forms in Xhosa are more original.

The whole idea of relative construction is not something primitive. To-day there are widely different constructions in the Bantu languages, which show that each language has developed on its own lines, though expressing similar thoughts.

Bennie, referring to this subject, says (p. 83): "There can be little doubt that the relative clause was originally an explanatory parenthesis thrown into a narrative; as though one should say, *ndißone loo mntu — andimazi loo mntu — engena eßuhlanti* (I saw this man — I do not know this man — entering the cattlefold). In such a sentence there would be a definite break before and after the parenthesis, also there would be a lowering of tone at the beginning of the clause, with a resumption of the original tone when the narrative was resumed".

This way of expression has obviously been retained in the so called short relative concord where there is no special relative formative but the ordinary verb-concord with a lower tone. As stated, this occurs only after nouns without the article.

10. *Cause of the longer form:*

Now the question will follow: what might have been the cause for the appearance of the longer form, which Xhosa has in common with Zulu ? As is agreed upon by all grammarians alike, the relative concord in this case originates from a formative *a–* which was prefixed to the verb-concords. This *a–* must have been of a demonstrative character, which opinion is supported by the fact that neighbouring South African languages as Sotho, Thonga, Tswa, which do not use this formative *a–*, use instead demonstrative pronouns in relative clauses; and this is also the case in other Bantu languages.

*South Sotho*:[1] "The relative pronouns are formed in the same manner as the demonstratives; in fact they were originally demonstrative pronouns".

*Phuthi*:[2] "The nature of the relative concord

[1] *A Grammar of the Sesuto Language*, E. Jacottet. Edited by C. M. Doke, Bantu Studies Vol. III, January 1927, p. 40 obs. 2.

[2] *A Concise Treatise on Phuthi*, G. I. M. Mzamane, Fort Hare Papers, Vol. I 1949, p. 177.

is demonstrative: *ufati lobonwako*, a woman who is seen".

*Thonga:*[1] "There are no special forms for the relative pronouns; they are obtained by amalgamating the demonstrative and the personal pronouns". Ex. *Tihomu leti ti dyaka*, the oxen which eat. The first *ti* is generally dropped resulting in *le'ti*.

*Tswa:*[2] "The demonstrative pronouns are almost invariably included in a relative sentence". Ex. *A khumba legi gi fambako*, the pig which walks.

*Shona:*[3] "The relative pronouns are the same as the demonstrative 'that' ".

*Konde:*[4] "There is no special relative, instead the demonstrative pronoun is used".

11. *Formative* a– *and the article:*

It will be further remembered that the long concord in Xhosa is used only when the antecedent is a noun with the article. So it is obvious that the article must stand in causal connection with this form of relative concord. The article in Xhosa and Zulu consists to-day of the vowels *u*, *i*, *a* as *u-mhlobo* a friend, *i-langa* the sun, *a-mafu* the clouds. This however is not supposed to be the original form of the article. Meinhof[5] voices the opinion that there must have been a universal pronominal copula *ya* in Ur-Bantu, "which was prefixed to the noun to give it prominence". The vowel was assimilated to the vowel of the prefix and the consonant subsequently dropped. Thus class 1 and 3 *ya-mu* became *yu-mu*, *u-mu*; cl. 4 *ya-mi* became *yi-mi*, *i-mi*; cl. 6 *ya-ma* became *a-ma*, etc. Whatever the original form exactly may have been, it is sufficient for our purposes to note that an *a* was contained in them. There can be hardly any doubt that this *a* of the article is one and the same as the *a*– used in the formation of the long relative concord. Both partake of a certain demonstrative nature. The *a* of the article was repeated in the relative clause, we might say, as concord of the article of the antecedent, whereas the verbal concord as usual was the concord for the subject of the clause itself. When the antecedent had no article, no concord of course was possible and therefore the short form was used in Xhosa.

12. *Formative a– and article in Northern Bantu languages:*

To alleviate further any doubt that the *a* of the article and the relative formative *a*– are really identical, we might refer to the Bantu languages in the extreme North, as Ganda, Kerewe and Ziba, which have in some respects a striking resemblance to Xhosa and Zulu. They too have the initial vowel or article. This vowel of the article has however not been totally assimilated to the prefix and the forms are *o-mu*, *e-mi*, *e-li*, *e-ki*, etc., which by the way is another clear proof that an *a* was involved. In the relative formation of these languages also an original formative *a*– has been used and some of the grammarians maintain that it is the same as the initial vowel or article.

*Ganda:*[6] *ekitoke kikula*, the plantain tree grows up.

"If we put the initial vowel before it, we make it relative": *ekitoke ekikula*, the plantain tree which grows up.

*amafumu gabuze*, the spears are lost;

*amafumu agabuze*, the spears which are lost.

*Kerewe:*[7] "The relative pronoun-subject is one of the three vowels *a*, *e*, *o*". These vowels are identical with the initial vowel: *abantu a-bakwenda*, the people who love;

*ebintu e-bikununka*, the things which smell;

*omuti o-gugwire*, the tree which has fallen.

*Ziba:*[8] "The relative pronoun in the nominative is the same as the pronoun (subjectival concord) together with the article:"

*bagonza* they love, *abagonza* who love (people);

*yagua* they fall, *eyagua* which fall (trees).

[1] *Elementary Grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan Language*, H. A. Junod. Lausanne, 1909, p. 44.
[2] *Outline of Tswa Grammar*. J. A. Persson. Cleveland 1932 p. 72.
[3] *A Dictionary with Notes on the Grammar of the Mashona Language*. London, 1911, XVI.
[4] *Grundriss einer Grammatik der Kondesprache*, C. Schumann. M.S.O.S. Berlin, 1899, p. 26.
[5] *Bantu-Phonology*, C. Meinhof - N.v. Warmelo. Berlin, 1932, p. 40
[6] *Elements of Luganda Grammar*, W. A. Crabtree. London, 1923, p. 26.
[7] *La langue kikerewe*, E. Hurel. M.S.O.S. Berlin, 1909, p. 20.
[8] *Die Sprache der Baziba*, H. Rehse. Zeitschr. f. Kol. Spr. III, Berlin, 1912-13, p. 122.

13. *Adjectives with relative concords:*

Mention must further be made of a number of adjectives in Xhosa and Zulu which employ these so called relative concords when used attributively. These words are called "Relatives or relative stems" by Doke (see further IV, 7). Such adjectives which Xhosa and Zulu have in common are: *ɓanzi* wide, *lula* light, *ɓomvu* red, *nzima* heavy, *mhlophe* white, *mnyama* black, *mnandi* pleasant, *nzulu* deep, *njalo* such, etc. In Xhosa only: *ʃuʃu* hot, *kɽakɽa* bitter, *muncu* sour, *nyulu* pure, etc. In Zulu only: *qatha* strong, *qotho* honest, *duma* tasteless, *mtoti* sweet, etc. They are used according to the rules given above.

Xhosa, long concord, antecedent with article:

*umthi obomvu*, a red tree
*ihaʃe elimnyama*, a black horse
*iziqhamo ezimnandi*, pleasant fruit
*uɓisi oluʃuʃu*, hot milk
*aɓantu aɓamhlophe*, white people.

Xhosa, short concord, antecedent without article:

*akukho mthi uɓomvu*, there is no red tree.
*andiɓonanga haʃe limnyama*, I did not see any black horse.
*ezona ziqhamo zimnandi*, the most pleasant fruit
*olu ɓisi luʃuʃu*, this hot milk
*nina ɓantu ɓamhlophe*, you white people.

Zulu, the same concord whether antecedent has article or not:

*imithwalo elula*, light burdens
*aɓantu aɓaqotho*, honest people
*udonga olunzulu*, a deep ravine
*lokhukudla okumnandi*, this pleasant food
*thinaɓantu aɓamnyama*, we black people.
*kuyizonazingubo eziqatha*, they are the really strong blankets.
*yayingenamhlaɓathi onzulu*, it had not deep ground.

14. *Designation "relative concord" not quite correct:*

In applying the present designation "relative concord" to the whole composite form, one is apt to lose sight of the fact that the two component parts really serve two different objects. The first element, formative *a–*, serves to indicate the relative connection, the second shows the concord of the subject of the clause. But if the whole amalgamated form is regarded as "relative concord", it is indeed necessary to state, as is done in §755 of the Zulu grammar, "that there is a relative construction in which the relative concord is *not* in agreement with the substantive qualified", as in all cases of indirect relationship. But then the idea of a "relative concord" really falls away.

Therefore Welsh and the older grammarians are nearer to the point when they do not speak so much of a "relative concord", but of a "relative particle", meaning thereby the relative formative *a–* only. This indeed effects the relative connection with the substantive qualified in *all* cases, whether of direct or indirect relationship. It could be nearest rendered by "that one, those".

Examples: Direct relationship:

*Aɓantu aɓalungileyo*, the people -those (*a*)- they (*ɓa*) are good.

*Izinja ezilapha*, the dogs -those (*e*)- they (*zi*) are here.

*Udonga oluɓonwa*, the ravine -that one (*o*)- it (*lu*) is seen.

Indirect relationship:

*Aɓahambi esiɓaɓona endleleni*, the travellers -those (a)- we (*si*) see them on the road.

*Iqanda aɓalifunayo*, the egg -that one (*a*)- they (*ɓa*) want it.

*Aɓantwana esapheka ukudla kwaɓo*, the children -those (*e*)- we (*si*) cooked their food.

*Indlu aɓahambela kuyo*, the house -that one(*a*)- they (*ɓa*) go to it.

*Isango awangena ngalo amadoda*, the gate -that one (*a*)- they (*wa*) entered by it, the men.

15. *Rules weakening in Xhosa:*

Although in Xhosa the distinction in the use of the short and long relative concord is strictly adhered to in principle, there are signs that the rules are weakening, especially after nouns in the vocative form, a point also mentioned by Jeanjaquet. For the correct short form *mhloɓo uthandekayo*, *ɓahloɓo ɓathandekayo*, "dear friend,

dear friends", it is now quite common to hear *mhlobo othandekayo, bahlobo abathandekayo.* In Zulu this is the rule, not only in the vocative. The feeling that the long form could properly stand after nouns with the article only has been lost. It is now mechanically employed in all cases.

As examples have shown, vocatives in both languages have relative concords and can be followed by a relative clause; for instance Xhosa: *thula nto ndini ifumane iman'itwakuza ithetha*, be quiet silly thing, which always babbles about without thought.

Doke maintains that vocatives have ceased to be nouns and should be regarded as interjectives. But in the definition of an interjective he says that it is "an isolated word which has no grammatical or concordial bearing on the rest of the sentence", which cannot be said of the vocatives in Nguni.

### IV. THE ADJECTIVAL CONCORD

Again Xhosa has two adjectival concords, the short and long one, whereas Zulu has only one, which is identical with the long concord in Xhosa.

1. *The short concord in Xhosa:*

This concord has the following forms:

| Classes | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *m* |
| 2 | *ba* |
| 3 | *m* |
| 4 | *mi* |
| 5 | *li* |
| 6 | *ma* |
| 7 | *si* |
| 8 | *zi* |
| 9 | *n, im* |
| 10 | *zin, zim* |
| 11 | *lu* |
| 14 | *bu* |
| 15 | *ku* |

It will be seen that the forms of this concord are exactly the same as the nominal prefixes proper. In class 9 one should expect only *n*, but as Bennie rightly observes, there is no syllabic *n* in Xhosa, and *in, im* is used instead. These concords are the same whether the adjectives are used attributively or predicatively. The only difference is that, in the first case, they have low tone, in the second high tone :

*lo mntu m-khulu* (low tone) this big man
*.o mntu m-khulu* (high tone) this man is big.

2. *Examples:*

The short adjectival concord, just as the short relative concord, is used in Xhosa whenever the antecedent has no article.

*Thina bantu badala!* We old people !
*MaHlubi mahle!* Honourable Hlubi! (tribal address in meetings)
*Eso sibonda side*, that long pole.
*Oyena mhlobo wabo mkhulu*, their greatest friend
*Kuthe xa iyayo yavela ntakana intle*, when he went there appeared a nice little bird.
*Wonke umthi ongavelisi ziqhamo zihle*, every tree that brings not forth good fruit.

3. *The long adjectival concord in Xhosa:*

This has developed form the short concord by prefixing the same formative *a–* as used in the relative concord which assimilated to the following vowel. Bennie and Doke arrive at these forms by prefixing the formative *a–* to the full or augmented nominal prefix. But this I think is not correct as the short forms show no full prefixes.

The following forms have resulted for both languages:

| Classes | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *o-m* (X) |
| | *o-m, o-mu* (Z) |
| 2 | *a-ba* |
| 3 | *o-m* (X) |
| | *o-m, o-mu* (Z) |
| 4 | *e-mi* |
| 5 | *e-li* |
| 6 | *a-ma* |
| 7 | *e-si* |
| 8 | *e-zi* (X) |
| | *e-zin, e-zim* (Z) |
| 9 | *e-n, e-m* |
| 10 | *e-zin, e-zim* |
| 11 | *o-lu* |

14 *o-ɓu*
15 *o-ku*

The form in class 8 Zulu is irregular. It should be *ezi*. Doke says it is formed by false analogy with class 10. It is important to keep in mind that also these forms are composite. The first element must also here be regarded as a repetition of the article. In Xhosa therefore they can be used only when the antecedent has the article.

*Examples.:*

*umlambo omkhulu*, a big river

*aɓafazi aɓaɓini aɓadala*, two old women

*umthi onamagqaɓi amahle*, a tree with beautiful leaves

*akukho uthungela isiziɓa somchako omtʃha engutyeni endala*, no man sews a piece of new cloth on an old garment.

4. *The concord in Zulu:*

This concord is used invariably in all cases.

Antecedent with article:

*aɓantwana aɓancane*, little children

*kwenziwa idili etikhulu*, a big dinner-party was given.

*wathwasa umnyaka omusha*, the new year started.

*amantombazana wawakhunga ngezinguɓo ezinhle*, he presented the girls with nice dresses.

*akakho othela iwayini elisha ezimvaɓeni ezindala*, no man puts new wine into old bottles.

Antecedent without article:

*leyomithi eminingi*, those many trees

*nceku embi evilaphayo!* thou wicked and slothful servant!

*kuyizona-zazi ezinkulu*, they are the very experts.

5. *The designation "adjectival concord":*

This concord derives its name from the circumstance that it is used to connect a number of adjectives with the noun when used attributively. These adjectives, common to both languages are in the main the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *khulu* big | *ɓi* evil, bad |
| *dala* old | *de* long |
| *ncane* (Z) small | *tʃha* (X) new |
| *ncinane* (X) small | *ningi* (Z) many |
| *fuphi* short | *ninzi* (X) many |
| *hle* nice | *ngaphi?* how many? |
| *sha* (Z) new | |

Also the numerals *ɓili*(Z), *ɓini* (X) two, *thathu* three, *ne* four, *hlanu* five, take these concords.

6. There is however a divergence of opinion as to what should be styled an adjective. Doke restricts the term to those words only which use the concord just mentioned. He says: "An adjective is a word which qualifies a substantive and is brought into concordial agreement therewith by the adjectival concord" (p. 92. also Terminology p. 43). Other words as *ɓanzi* wide, *lula* light, etc. mentioned under III, 13 are styled by him "Relatives or Relatives stems", as they use the relative concord. Bennie on the other hand does not base his definition on the formal connection with the noun, but on the function and meaning of the words and says: "Words that do not more than limit or describe the things they name we shall call adjectives" (p. 35). Thus, apart from the above given words, *khulu* big, *dala* old, etc. he includes the other set of words, as *ɓanzi* wide, *lula* light, etc.

7. *Relative and adjectival stems:*

The term "Relative, relative stem" against "Adjective, adjectival stem" is decidedly misleading as it implies a contrast which does not exist in Xhosa and Zulu. It gives the wrong impression that the characteristic feature of the "Relative stems" is that they are used in a relative connection and the "Adjectives" *not*. But it is just the relative connection which both have in common in addition to their common function. For the same reason the distinction made by Welsh between "Simple Adjectives" and "Relative Adjectives" is likewise misleading. It seems that he adopted the latter term as a compromise.

*Umkhonto olula* (so called relative stem or relative adjective) means : a spear which is light.

Likewise *umkhonto omkhulu* (adjective or simple adjective) means: a spear which is big.

Both concords, as we saw, are composite forms and have as their first common element the formative *a-*, which gives the proper relative meaning. The real difference between them is that the so-called "Relatives" employ verbal concords and the "Adjectives" nominal prefixes as concords, which two types are at the base of all Bantu concords, as pointed out by different grammarians, although their designation is not always the same.

8. *The two basic types of concordial prefixes:*

Jacottet[1] speaks of two distinct forms of prefixes, "nominal prefixes" before nouns and adjectives and "pronominal prefixes" used in forming pronouns and in connection with verbs (p. 20).

Meinhof[2] distinguishes between noun prefixes and pronominal prefixes.

Johnston[3] remarks that with the aid of "pronominal and adjectival particles a complete 'concord' is maintained between the noun and its dependent adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, etc."

Ashton[4] says as regards Swahili: "Each noun has two sets of concords. 1) Pronominal Concords. These are used with pronominal roots. They also function as the subject and object prefixes of the verb. 2) Adjectival concords. These are the same as the class prefixes (except in one instance) and are required with stems used as adjectives".

Barlow,[5] treating Kikuyu, writes: "The noun governs the rest of the sentence by means of prefixes. There are two series of these, Adjectival and Pronominal".

Also in Xhosa and Zulu these two sets are at the base of all concords, and appear generally quite clearly with words used predicatively, as for instance class 4: *i-bonwa* they are seen, *i-lapha* they are here, *i-bomvu* they are red, but *mi-khulu* they are big, *mi-thathu* they are three. Both sets alike can be made relative through combination with formative *a-*. As however the basic concords remain the same, it seems not quite justified to speak of a special "relative concord", especially if the combination with one set only is so styled. (See also III, 14).

The adjectives taking nominal prefixes seem to be older Bantu words, whereas the other set of adjectives, which uses concords based on pronominal prefixes, is of later origin, as is quite evident with such words as were taken over from the Hottentot, as Xhosa *fufu* hot, *gwenxa* crooked, Zulu *qatha* strong, *qotho* honest. New adjectives could be incorporated in the same way with verbal concords without difficulty.

9. *Treatment of adjectives in Ganda and Nyoro similar to Xhosa:*

Again Ganda and Nyoro in the extreme North show resemblance to Xhosa, and confirm the assumption that the first element in the long adjectival concord is the repetition of the article.

Crabtree in his above-mentioned grammar[6] gives the general rule (p. 147): "The Adjective omits its Initial Vowel when in agreement with a noun whose Initial Vowel is omitted". This is exactly as in Xhosa.

Maddox[7] says that in Nyoro adjectives retain the Initial Vowel when qualifying the subject of the verb and that with adjectives the Initial Vowel often seems to represent the English "which is".

10. *Emphatic pronouns, possessives and adjectives which stand alone:*

The relation between the formative *a-* and the article also becomes evident in the formation of emphatic pronouns and possessives in Xhosa by prefixing the vowels *a*, *e*, *o* according to the different noun prefixes.

*Examples:*

*o-yena mntu ndimfunayo*, the very man I want
*e-yona nkabi inamandla*, the strongest ox
*e-zam zifile kodwa e-zenkosi zisekho*, mine

[1] see footnote 1, page 19.
[2] see footnote 5, page 20.
[3] *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, H. H. Johnston. Oxford, 1919, p. 19.
[4] *Swahili Grammar*, E. O. Ashton. Longmans, Green & Co. 1947, p. 10.
[5] *Tentative Studies in Kikuyu Grammar*, A. R. Barlow. Edinburgh, 1914, p. 9.
[6] see footnote 6, page 20.
[7] *An Elementary Lunyoro Grammar*, H. E. Maddox. London, 1902, p. 80.

(goats) are dead but the chief's are still there
*thatha e-likayihlo*, take your father's (horse)
*aphina a-wenu?* where are yours (horses)?

Doke, dealing with such formations, says (§ 708) that pronouns are formed from possessives by a "prefixal formative" *a–*, *e–*, *o–* according to the form of the vowel of the noun prefix as *aßami*, *ezethu*, *owakhe* (mine, ours, his).

Bennie calls this the "concord of emphasis". But there is no need for a special designation. These are really relative constructions with the relative formative *a–* as rightly pointed out by Welsh (p. 55, 56).

When adjectives stand alone and are used as nouns, they are treated in the same way for instance:

*o-mkhulu*, the big one
*a-ßadala*, the old ones, the elders
*a-ßamhlophe*, the white ones, the Europeans
*ßopha eßomvu*, span in the red one (ox)
*gawula e-mide*, cut down the long ones (trees).

The nature of this formative *a–* has caused Wanger [1] to describe it as "*roun-making a*" and to consider the relative clause as an appositional noun.

*Examples:*

*umuntu olungileyo*, the man, the good one
*isihloßo esißona*, the friend, the seeing one; the friend who sees.

11. *Summing up:*

The proper adjectival concords are those which appear in the short Xhosa adjectival concord and are identical with the nominal prefixes. These concords are also contained in the long Xhosa form and the Zulu general form, where they are amalgamated with the relative formative *a–*, which is a repetition of the article, of which Zulu is not conscious any more.

### V. THE ENUMERATIVE CONCORD IN ZULU

1. In Zulu this is given as a special concord. An Enumerative is defined as "a word which qualifies a substantive, and is brought into concordial agreement therewith by the enumerative concord".

The concords are as follows:

| Classes | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *mu* |
| 2 | *ßa* |
| 3 | *mu* |
| 4 | *mi* |
| 5 | *li* |
| 6 | *ma* |
| 7 | *si* |
| 8 | *zi* |
| 9 | *i* |
| 10 | *zi* |
| 11 | *lu* |
| 14 | *ßu* |
| 15 | *ku* |

There are only four stems which are given as such enumeratives, *nye* "one", *phi?* "which?", *ni?* "what?" and *mbe* "a different one".

*Examples given in the grammar:*

*ßagawula umuthi munye*, they cut down one tree
*ngumuntu muphi?* which person is it?
*yizilwane zini?* what animals are they?
*ßakhuluma lulimi-lumbe*, they speak a different language.

A glance at the concords will show that they are based on the nominal prefixes. In class 9 and 10 the nasal has however dropped. As three of the stems begin with a nasal this can only exactly be seen from the connection with *phi*.

2. *The position in Xhosa:*

All the four stems are found also in Xhosa, *nye* "one", *phi* or *phi na?* "which?", *ni* or *nina?* "what?" and *mbi* "another" (of another kind). *Phi* and *mbi* take concords different from *nye* and *ni*. Xhosa grammarians have not coined a special name for these concords. It will be best to examine the four stems separately.

3. *The stem nye:*

In Xhosa *nye* means "one", also "one" in the

[1] *Scientific Zulu Grammar*, W. WANGER. Stuttgart, 1927, No. 680.

sense of "the same", "one out of a certain number" and "other, another, some". It is used with both adjectival concords, the short and the long one, so that it has no unique position grammatically. Whether the long or short concord is used, depends as always in Xhosa upon the antecedent, whether it has the article or not.

(a) *nye in the sense of "one, one and the same":*

If used in this sense the antecedent has in most cases no article in Xhosa, so that the short adjectival concord is employed.

*Examples:*

*Imithi ayidubuli ngaxefa linye*, trees do not blossom at one and the same time

*Iimbovane zamzi mnye zizalwa nina mnye, eyinkosazana*, ants of one place are born by one (or the same) mother, the queen

*Singonyana bamfo mnye*, we are the sons of one man

*Nto inye elawulayo pakathi engqondweni*, one thing ruling in his mind.

Often however the attributive use of *nye* is avoided and a construction is preferred where it is used as copulative.

*Ndithi linye icebo*, I say there is only one plan (it is one the plan)

*Inye inkosi, lunye ukholo, lunye ubaptizo*, one Lord, one faith, one baptism

*Undithengisele ithole libe linye*, sell me one calf

*Waba mnye umthunywa ongathethanga*, there was one delegate who had not spoken.

It is however also possible to use the long adjectival concord, if it is deemed better for the construction to use a noun with the article.

*Uza kuza ngenxa yomntwana omnye kuphela?* Will you come on account of one child only?

*Yasuka yakhula ngosuku olunye yaangumfo*, he grew in one day and became a man

*Impukane izala amaqanda afika ekhulwini ngokuzala okunye*, a fly lays up to one hundred eggs in one laying

*Wena uman'ukuphinda into enye*, you always repeat one (or the same) thing.

In the following sentence both the short and long concord is used simultaneously:

*Zibe mhlambi mnye nomalusi omnye*, they will be one flock and one shepherd. *Mhlambi*, flock, has no article therefore the short concord is used, but *nomalusi*, shepherd, has the article, so the long concord is necessary.

For Zulu I find the following version: *zibe mhlambi munye nomalusi munye*. Whether the noun has the article or not makes no difference. Also here one form is invariably used which in this case corresponds to the Xhosa short concord, obviously a relic from the time when Zulu also had two adjectival concords.

In Xhosa there is a tendency to drop the concords in classes 5 and 9 as *ngaxefa nye* at the same time, *ngazwi nye* with one word, *ngamini nye* on one day, *sintanga nye* we are of the same age-group.

(b) *nye meaning "one out of a certain number":*

In this case Xhosa uses the long adjectival concord. So does Zulu, wherefore *nye* is not called an enumerative here.

*Xhosa:*

*Thumani omnye kuni aye enkosini*, send one of you to the chief

*Enye yezo ndlela sithetha ngazo*, one of those roads we speak about

*Nguwuphina umntu kuni othi enekhulu lezimvu ize kulahleke enye kuzo*, what man of you having a hundred sheep if he loses one of them.

*Zulu:*

The last sentence reads:

*Umuphi umuntu kini onezimvu ezinkulu kulahleke enye kuzo.*

*Omunye wexuku wamphendula*, one of the multitude answered him

*Omunye kwabayishumi nambili*, one of the twelve.

(c) *nye in the sense of "one or another, some":*

In this case it always precedes the noun taking the long adjectival concord in Xhosa.

*Omnye waya ekhaya omnye wahlala*, one went home the othe remained

*Ngenye imini ndiza kubuya*, one day (or another day) I shall return

*Abanye abantu*, other people, some people.

Also in the Zulu grammar *nye* in this case is given under the adjectives as it uses adjectival concords.

*Ngelinye ilanga*, one day
*Kwezinye izindawo*, at other places, at some places.

(d) *Concluding remarks:*

In Xhosa the two adjectival concords are used according to the rules given above. The position in Zulu seems to have been originally the same, as this stem also in Zulu has two kinds of concords. The short concord was probably formerly used when the antecedent had no article. But as the article does not play such an important part in Zulu as in Xhosa, and as the stem *nye* had different meanings, the short concord was eventually reserved for *nye* when meaning "one", without regard for the form of the antecedent, and the long form was used when *nye* had the meanings under *b* and *c*.

4. *The stem ni, ni na, "what"?*

In Xhosa this stem is connected with copulatives formed from nouns and with nouns without article. Therefore it uses the short adjectival concord and is given under the section dealing with adjectives.

*Usisilo sini na wena*? What animal are you?
*Liqhinga lini elo lakho lokwenza imvula*? What is your device to make rain?
*Niluhlobo luni na le nto ningafani nathi*? Of what kind are you because you are not as we are?
*Ufuna nto ni na*? What do you want ?
*Wenze bubi buni na*? What evil has he done?
*Nahlukana nathi ngasizathu sini na*? For what reason did you part with us?

It seems that in Zulu also a noun with the article can be connected with *ni* as the following example in the grammar shows (p. 347):

*Ufuna izimbuzi zini*? What goats do you want?

5. *The stem phi, phi na, "which?"*

The following are the concords for this stem in Xhosa:

| Classes: | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *wu* |
| 2 | *ba* |
| 3 | *wu* |
| 4 | *yi* |
| 5 | *li* |
| 6 | *wa* |
| 7 | *si* |
| 8 | *zi* |
| 9 | *yi* |
| 10 | *zi* |
| 11 | *lu* |
| 14 | *bu* |
| 15 | *ku* |

As will be seen the concords are different from those in Zulu in all classes formed with nasals. Against Zulu 1 and 3 *mu*, 4 *mi*, 6 *ma*, 9 *i*, Xhosa has 1 and 3 *wu*, 4 *yi*, 6 *wa*, 9 *yi*.

The question arises whether these forms might have developed from the Zulu forms by changing the nasal for a semi-vowel. But such changes are not observed elsewhere in Xhosa. According to phonetic laws the semi-vowels *w* and *y* can be derived from Ur-Bantu (UB) *γ*.

*Examples: wa* fall UB *γua*, *wola* gather up UB *γola*, *indawo* place UB *layo*, *ya* go UB *γia*, *ikhaya* home UB *kaya*.

So the original forms of the concord in the nasal classes might have been *γu*, *γu*, *γi*, *γa*, *γi*, which according to Meinhof [1] are supposed to be the original forms of "the pronominal roots in Bantu".

It can therefore be assumed that in these concords of *phi* the older verb-concords have been retained, as they also appear in the objectival concords, which are the same, with the exception of the objectival concord for class 1, which is *mu*. As the objectival concords were embedded in the verb forms, the semi-vowels were retained, whereas in the subjectival concords they were eventually dropped and only the vowels (*u*, *i*, *a*) remained.

In any case it seems certain that the concords of *phi* are based on the pronominal prefixes.

This is also supported by quite a number of other languages. South Sotho has *fe* "which?"

[1] see footnote 5, page 20.

Jacottet[1] says it is constructed with the pronominal prefix. (p. 46).

In Venda we find *fhio*. According to van Warmelo[2] it takes "verbal concords".

Meyer[3] has published a study about the interrogative in Bantu. Dealing with *pi* "which", she shows that, in Shambala, Swahili, Karanga, Bondei, Luba, it is used with the verbal concords (Pronominalstamm).

It remains to be explained why Zulu uses concords based on nominal prefixes.

*Examples in Xhosa:*

*Uvela kuwuphi na umzi*? From which kraal do you come?

*Le nto ihle ngayiphi na indlela*? In which way did this happen?

*Frequently copulatives are used:*

*Nguwuphi na umntu kuni*? Which man of you?

*Yiyiphi na imithi oyifunayo*? Which are the trees you want?

*Liliphi na izembe lakho*? Which is your axe?

6. *The stem mbi "another, of another kind":*

This is the only other stem which has the same concords as *phi, phi na*, which have been examined in section 5.

Also here Xhosa has 1 and 3 *wu-mbi*, 4 *yi-mbi*, 6 *wa-mbi*, 9 *yi-mbi* against Zulu *mu-mbe*, *mi-mbe*, *ma-mbe*, *i-mbe*.

Phuthi[4] has *be* "some other, different". It follows Xhosa and not Zulu and has 1 and 3 *wu-be*, *yi-be* but 6 *a-be* and 9 *i-be*. ( p. 180).

The noun when preceding *mbi* in Xhosa has no article.

*Kungekho ɓani wumbi*, there being no other one

*Wazama ceɓo limbi*, he tried another plan

*Maxa wambi*, at other times

*Waye ungenakwenza ngandlela yimbi*, you could not do it in another way.

*Concluding remark:*

In both Xhosa and Zulu, as in other Bantu languages, the concords are based on two types of prefixes:

(a) Concords based on nominal prefixes:
Xhosa short adjectival concord,
Zulu enumerative concord.
In combination with the relative formative *a-:*
Xhosa long adjectival concord, the same as Zulu general adjectival concord.

(b) Concords based on pronominal prefixes:
Subjectival concord,
Objectival concord,
Possessive concord,
Xhosa concord with phi and mbi,
Xhosa short relative concord.
In combination with the relative formative *a-:*
Xhosa long relative concord, the same as Zulu general relative concord.

[1] see footnote 1, page 19.

[2] *Tshivenda-English Dictionary*, N. J. v. Warmelo. Pretoria, 1937, p. 21.

[3] *Das Fragewort in den Bantusprachen*, E. Meyer. Zeitschr. f. Eingeb. Sprachen, Band xxxv, heft 2, 1949, p. 83, 88.

[4] see footnote 2, page 19.

# THE GARAMANTES OF CENTRAL SAHARA

*by*

RAYMOND A. DART

However tragically the brief revival of Italy under Mussolini ended, humanity will always be indebted thereto for the enlightened archaeological policy of that regime and the treasures it brought to light from the distant greatness of Imperial Rome.

Fortunately for African archaeology attention too was centred upon the revival of Roman greatness in Africa. Thus the stage was set for rescuing from virtual oblivion at the hands of Italian archaeologists a lost millennium of Central Saharan civilization and resurrecting the semi-mythical Garamantes responsible for it.

Even more fortunately, despite the tempestuous interval of the Second World War that has supervened, since the Italian scientific mission recovered the skeletal remains and funerary objects nearly twenty years ago, the National Academy of the Lincei in Rome has recently brought this work to a triumphant conclusion by publishing the 200 page volume[1] upon which this article is based. Here we find discussed in thoroughly documented fashion the steps that led to this historic undertaking, the fascinating terrain itself and its monuments, the numerous excavations and disinterments and the physical characteristics of these inhabitants of the desert oases of the Central Sahara 2000 years ago and upwards.

The information contained in this publication is of so crucial a nature for appreciating the transcontinental cultural contacts between the Mediterranean Area and the Guinea Coast, the details of which cannot be without some significance for the history of Africa south of the equator that it has been felt desirable to devote somewhat more space than usual to a review of this work, which is bound to assume classical rank in the archaeology of the continent.

Libya with its northern rainfall of 5 to 15 inches is for the most part an arid steppe country ; its capital Tripoli (the ancient *Oea*) was probably founded (c. 700 B.C.) by Phoenicians from Sicily and became a Roman colony after the fall of Carthage 146 B.C. Lying opposite Sicily, Tripoli has been from time immemorial the northern terminus of the three great caravan routes across the desert, one south-west through Ghadames to Timbuctoo and through Gat to Kano in Nigeria, one south-east through Sokna to Darfur and the Sudan, and one due south through Murzuch and Bilma to Lake Chad. There the Sahara is at its narrowest. In the 7th century A.D. North Africa was over-run by the Arabs; Byzantine Christianity gave place to Islam; and a Libyan civilization, that then had lasted for over 1000 years, fell into decay.

The southern half of Tripolitania (Libya) is Fezzan (the classical *Phazania*). The oasis of Gat forms its south-western corner. Standing in the Wadi Aghelad on the Saharan plateau from which, when the Sahara was well-watered, the waters flowed north to the Mediterranean and south to the Atlantic Ocean, Gat is 2,400 feet above sea level. Gat is thus near the centre of the great desert lying about 600 miles almost due south of Tripoli and 900 miles north-east from the Niger river. It was consequently the half-way house of the ancient trade route from the Mediter-

[1] Scavi Sahariani: Ricerche nell 'Uadi el-Agial e nell' Oasi di Gat della Missione Pace-Sergi-Caputo. Est. d. *Monumenti antichi* pub. by Acc. Naz. d. Lincei. Rome Vol. 41. 1951. pp. 152-551., Pls. 1-16 and Figs. 257.

ranean Sea to the Gulf of Guinea. In an earlier and more genial period pack-donkeys and ox-wagons seem to have been used but the trade became much more intensive once dromedaries had been introduced from Arabia. Caesar is the first to mention camels in Africa, viz., the 22 camels of Juba's army that fell into the hands of the Romans, By 366 A.D. it was possible for inhabitants of Leptis Magna to possess a caravan of 4000 camels (Pace p. 172).

The sandy date-palm-studded plain of Gat still affords sustenance to-day for a population of approximately 10,000 Ihajenen Tuareg (or Berber) people. In the centre of the oasis is an open space where a great annual fair is held to whose commerce to-day, as of old, this desert haven owes all its importance.

Germa (Garama) is situated in the Wadi El Agial which lies about 200 miles to the north-east of Gat and itself stretches for another 200 miles due east from Tin Abunda to El Abiad as a strip of oases and pastureland hemmed in by the desert sands of Ramla on the north and the rocky escarpment formed by the northern rim of the Hamada of Murzuch on the south. The Murzuch oasis itself lying about 80 miles to the south of the Wady El Agial is on the southern caravan route approximately 400 miles from Tibesti (the home of the Tibu) and 800 miles from Lake Chad in the Sudan, where Eastern Nigeria meets the French Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa.

The Tibu, another Berber people adjacent to these Fezzan Taureg, are regarded by Keane (*Man : past and present* 1920 p. 473) as the direct descendants of the Garamantes (their northern half, the *Tedâs*, recalling the *Tedamansii*, a branch of the Garamantes located by Ptolmey somewhere between *Tripolitania* and *Phazania*. Through their southern half, the *Dazas*, the Tibu "merge gradually into the negroid population of the Sudan; and this intermingling with the blacks dates from remote times, whence Ptolmey's remark that the Garamantes seemed rather more 'Ethiopians' than Libyans. But there can be no doubt that the full-blooded Tibu, as represented by the northern section, are mainly Mediterranean, and although the type of men is somewhat coarser than that of their Tuaereg neighbours, that of their women is almost the finest in Africa. 'Their women are charming while still in the bloom of youth, unrivalled amongst their sisters of North Africa for their physical beauty, pliant and graceful figures.' "

The Sudan (or land of the blacks) stretches from Cape Verde on the Atlantic to Massawa on the Red Sea, South of the Sahara. The Garamantes once extended their influence from the Mediterranean Sea to the Sudan. Historical knowledge of the Garamantes as a political entity only goes back to Herodotus (5th century B.C.) i.e. about the time Jebel Moya was in its heyday, but the name persisted for 1000 years throughout the Roman era until it disappeared with the Arabian invasions. *Garama*, the name of their rallying point, seems to be preserved in the modern Germa the principal site of this investigation. It lies in the western half of the Wady El Agial and presents to-day in its Roman mausoleum, tombs and irrigation trenches the liveliest possible picture of the continuous commercial contacts between tropical Africa and the Mediterranean area during the Graeco-Garthago-Romano-Byzantine millennium in the trade for ostrich feathers, skins of animals, gold, incense, special woods, beasts for the circus, and especially precious stones, ivory and slaves which were exchanged for the pottery lamps, cups, vases, glass and other products of classical civilization.

For the whole 200 miles length of the Wady from El Abiad to Tin Abunda the escarpment and its terraces and foothills are a vast cemetery where there were at first estimated to be not less than 45,000 tombs (and 59,686 at least have been counted) that are surmounted by cairns, pyramids or monuments of worked stone. "Reygasse affirms that in no other Saharan region has he seen so vast a quantity of tumuli" (Caputo p. 213.)

The study under review is the outcome of excavations conducted (1933–34) by an anthropological and archaeological mission directed by Professor Giacomo Biagio Pace, composed of Professors Sergio Sergi and Giacomo Caputo, and organized by the Royal Geographical Society

of Italy. The work is presented in three parts; the first section of 200 columns (two columns on each page) is an account by Pace of the initiation, and the area of the investigation, of its historical and archaeological significance, of the place of *Phazania* (Fezzan) and the *Garamantes* in antiquity, and of methodical problems in Saharan archaeology.

The second part by Caputo (columns 201–442) concerns firstly the numbering of the tombs, and the excavational operations. These embraced works at Gasr Larocu (castellations) Zinchecra (water-dams in the valley, defence works on the summit, houses and tombs) and surrounding necropoli. These included a tomb surrounded by a funerary chamber and an offertorial atrium of the 1st century A.D., 3 tombs in a necropolis 5 kilometres east of the mausoleum, 10 in a necropolis surrounding the mausoleum, 52 in the Meridional necropolis, 5 in the Central necropolis and 2 in the Eastern necropolis. Other necropoli were explored at Brech (1), Tuina (2), El Charaig (9), Techertiba (3), El Gheraia (2), El Abiad (3), Taglelt (3, Disa (2), Tin Abunda (3, one of which was a cromlech) and Gat (4). From the grave furniture, especially the glassware and lamps preserved, reconstructed and dated it is shown that these tombs date from unknown pre-Roman times down to Byzantine days probably to the 5th century of our era.

In some ways the most interesting excavations were those of the houses, fortifications and particularly the pluvial canals which depict the actual conditions under which agriculture was maintained for 500, and probably for 1000 years and more, in the centre of the Sahara. The pluvial canals are indicated to-day by mounds of earth that stretch for tens of kilometres along the kloofs running into the Hamada escarpment and must have once formed a veritable network, which it is astonishing to imagine could have been developed in places so remote and hitherto regarded as so barbarous. They are the *fogârât*, irrigation canals, which formed the means of collecting the rain waters that ran from the Hamada. A few *fogârât* of this type and still in use are to be found as one leaves Gasr Uatuat near the road deviation, that leads to Germa about 200 metres to the west; they run from south to north following the contour of the hillside with slight undulations and depressions. This canal system records the methodical and general programme of agricultural improvement of the arid territory, which was extensively developed during the Roman epoch in the remote interior of Tripolitania.

At Taglelt the canals are found typically in long lines with many mouths indicated externally by earthbanks; they are subterranean galleries. The canal system, while it was mainly open and dealt with the torrents that ran from the hills, included in other cases deep and covered canals, that ran right to the source of a stream and carried the water down from a great distance in the style of an aqueduct, in which one can still find the typical inspection points. At Zinchecra Caputo exposed stone walls on the hillside forming barriers or dams, some of which terminated in an excavated circular receiving basin area filled with quarts sand, which by its permeability appears to have served as a filtration plant. As Caputo says, these hydraulic processes were not exclusively of Roman origin and application; the inhabitants of ancient Egypt knew them and transmitted them to the oases to the west of the Nile valley; but the Roman administration that civilized *Phazania* (Fezzan) directly or indirectly caused them to become widely diffused. Probably the Libyan rainfall was more abundant in the classical millennium than to-day because the costal highlands of Tripoli, which to-day are bare, were then furnished with forests that were reduced to ashes by the Berber Queen Kahena in the wars against the Arabs in the 7th century A.D. Where the desert rendered the terrain sterile however, the sedentary Garamantes in the Wady El Agial carried out works that were indispensable for the conservation of their water and the life of their oases by means of irrigation. Whatever part dessication may have played there, and it seems minimal, the archaeological facts show that the decadence of El Agial is chiefly a social phenomenon pursuant upon the contraction of the area cultivated after the Islamic invasions.

The chapters by Caputo on the classification of the Fezzan glassware, the comparative morphology of the tombs and their dating, the ritual crouching of corpses, the tables of offering, stelae and obelisks carved out of stone, the neolithic objects, the dry stone building, the Islamic walls and funerary tomb at Zuila, the archaeology of Fezzan, the three golden idols about 6 lbs in weight which formed the treasure found at Uaddan in the Oasis of Giofra, and the interior of Africa in the classical sphere, are of the first importance to the understanding of the archaeology of the northern half of the African continent.

They show, as he states, that from Tripoli to Nigeria and for more than a thousand years the Sahara was more than a bridge; it was a territory vivified by Mediterranean currents. The Tuareg people of the farthermost interior, like the Hausa of Nigeria, are folk that have participated in the progress of contemporary society, firstly by the mediation of Carthage and the more ancient, if quasi-mysterious Tartessus, and later and pre-eminently, as it now appears, through Imperial Roman culture. The trans-Saharan commercial highways were then held principally by the Garamantes and secondarily by the related Nasamonians, and presumably also the Tibu, who only lost their importance when driven from the Kufra oasis by the Arabs in the 17th century.

The third or physical section of this valuable document is by Sergio Sergi (columns 443–534) and deals with the skeletal remains of the ancient population of Fezzan and thus with the physical type of the Garamantes. In it he shows that they are divisible into four groups; of which Groups I and II are Eurafrican, III is Negriform Eurafrican and IV is Negro or strongly Negroid.

Groups I and II are constituted by individuals of a cerebral and facial architecture such as is typical amongst the peoples, that inhabited the Mediterranean basin in Neolithic times and still occupy it extensively to-day. Group I consists in part of individuals who are tall or very tall in stature, whose crania are dolicho-, hypsi-, and acro-cephalic with a narrow and high face, narrow nose and orthognathous profile. To this group one may fairly attribute — although Sergi does not make these two points — the *ellipsoid* form of skull, which emerges in 9 out of 33 or about a third of those whose form can be determined, and the blonde element, which is responsible for the white quality of the skin in many of the modern Berber peoples. As Seligman pointed out about Berber blondness (Africa Encye Britt. 14th ed. p. 304) "it is no doubt foreign — presumably Nordic — and it existed in Libya as long ago as the New Empire, as is shown by contemporary paintings in Egyptian tombs."

To Group II belong subjects of high or medium stature, with crania also long, narrow and high, but whose altitude is somewhat less than that of Group I, and so dolicho-, hypsi-, and acro-cephalic or dolicho-, ortho-, and acro-cephalic, with the upper part of the face lower than that of Group I relatively to its width (superior chamaeprosopy), and noses rather wide relatively to their height (mesorrhine or moderately chamaerrhine) but with a vertical orthognathic facial profile. The morphology of the facial skeleton is therefore different from that of Negroes and Negroids and is closely related to that of the Group I Eurafricans. They are identified by Sergi with the Predynastic Egyptians in type, and so belong to the Brown or Mediterranean race as described by Elliot-Smith.

To group III Sergi attributes those individuals in whom, along with the Eurafrican characters of Groups I and II, there appear stigmata of features typical of the Negro. In this group of Negriform Eurafricans there are added to nasal width, a prognathism which is more typically alveolar in nature and a peculiar morphology of the piriform aperture. There seems no doubt that this is a product of interbreeding between Group II (or Group I also) with Group IV.

Group IV consists of the individuals in whom Negro characteristics are absolutely preponderant.

From the most ancient pre-Roman tombs in the vicinity of Germa and from those of pre-Roman Techertiba east of Germa came the Group I elements and the archaic forms of the intermediate category forming Group II.

In the various Germa necropoli of the Roman

era there are found mixtures preponderantly of Group II type, and also some of Group III. In the monumental tombs of Germa of the 3rd century A.D. sufficient remains were collected to recognize that they were occupied by Group I people.

The necropoli of the Late Roman period at El Charaig, a few kilometres east of Germa, furnished a Group I form and one of Group III with a particular style of pyramidal tomb architecture utterly different from all the rest. The still later necropoli of Taglelt (5th century A.D.) yielded a Group I form and a primitive type which could be included in Group II, but because of its (Boskopoid) morphological features ought to be considered separately. A tomb of ? 2nd century age at El-Abiad was distinctive in being a double sepulture and in employing resinous substances for the preservation of the body; the lower skeleton was that of a typical young Negro belonging to Group IV and the upper one a female apparently belonging to Group III. The great necropoli of Gat on Cocaman heights include various systems of tombs that differ in their architecture. From a sample of tombs probably of the 3rd century there were recovered 2 skeletons, that were typically Negro, and 2 that were not Negro.

These 29 skeletons, of which only 23 are reasonably complete, are admittedly, like the tombs from which they came, only a small but an extremely important sample, of the population of the central Sahara during the classical millennium (from Herodotean Greece to Justinian Byzantium.) In that sample the Negroes, ascribed by Sergi to Group IV, only appear sporadically and late temporally. Hence during that millennium there was no domination of the region by a Negro population of any sort. The pre-dominant population throughout this period belonged to Groups I and II, which he ascribes to the great Eurafrican Mediterranean race. The Group I type is encountered in the oldest tombs and continues to be found even in the later period alongside Group II. Group II becomes more widespread and dominant in the Roman period in conjunction with Group III Negriform types; but even in the 3rd century A.D. the monument at necropolis of Germa yielded remains of Group I type.

Thus the Garamantes of the period under consideration were fundamentally Eurafricans; and their cranio-facial types are principally those encountered in the predynastic tombs of Egypt and Libya, a fact ratified by Sergi by a direct examination of his specimens with the Egyptian collections of MacIver preserved in the Anatomy Museum in Oxford.

The sedentary Fezzaneze population of the Wady El Agial to-day, consists of an extremely complex ethnic mixture with a predominance of Negroes and Negroids, in which the Sudanese type is prevalent. The Sudanese are known to have become widely dispersed during the Saharan expansion of the Kanem peoples from the region of Lake Chad in the 10th century A.D. (and spreading northwards over the whole of Fezzan 1221–59 A.D. *vide* Keane p.72.) Hybridisation, in which the negroid element received its greatest increment through the slave traffic, that persisted in Fezzan until the recent Italian occupation, has resulted to-day in an infinite variety of living types, which can be directly compared with the Group IV specimens from some of these ancient tombs.

The Garamantes of the tombs, however, display their affinity with the desert Berbers i.e. with the Tuareg who still preserve the customs, traditions and primitive script of the Libyan people. Sergi depicts three of the Group I and II skulls alongside modern Tuaregs from Feuet and Gat to show this similarity and compares photographs of modern Tuaregs with the profiles of ancient Egyptians as depicted by Elliot Smith, and as preserved in Egyptian statuettes and in Egyptian tombs and paintings depicting Libyans. But he does not deny that some Negriform Libyans with platyrrhine noses, large lips and a degree of prognathism were already known to the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom (c. 2160 B.C.) and that, even if the Garamantes did not belong to the negro population, they have had intimate relationships with them through millennia. This is histocically proven by the narrative of Herodotus, who regarded them as Ethiopians, and by the

expenditions which the Garamantes made with the Romans in the 1st century A.D. against the Ethiopians i.e. the Sudan Negroes.

Sergi also takes advantage of these comparisons between pictures of modern Tuaregs and those of ancient Libyans to draw attention in both series to the lateral marginal or malo-marginal fold (of Aichel), which is separated from the lateral angle of the eye by a palpebral furrow but covers the partially-closed eye laterally in such a fashion, as to shade its lateral part to a greater or lesser extent even when the eyes are opened. This lateral fold may be so greatly developed even in children as to lie between two furrows, inferiorly the lateral marginal one and superiorly an orbito-palpebral one. This partial covering of the lateral side of the eye by a fold, which he compares with a similar arrangement in Hottentot eyes, Sergi regards as a defence against the glare of the sun and the dessicatory effect of the hot winds in the desert of Northern Africa; just as the medial or Mongolian fold may be a defence against the cold and winds of Northern Asia. Whatever its origin this fold and these furrows did not escape the observation of the ancient Egyptian artists, and serve to corroborate Sergi's main deductions about the persistance into modern times of the ancient Libyan physical type in the centre of the Sahara.

Nobody could appreciate better than these three distinguished Italian scientists that this splendid collaborative effort is any other than a preliminary contribution in the vast field which their labours have exposed for further investigation. They have succeeded in replacing the tantalizing mirage of Saharan archaeology with substantial facts about chronology, culture and physical types. In the freely translated words of Pace (column 198) "It is permissible to state now that archaeological method has achieved one of its most eloquent victories, and that to it we owe to-day an entire region and an historical people that previously had been but a fleeting name — the Garamantes — bringing their life and spirit into the light of day for the first time out of the darkest recesses of African antiquity."

# A METHOD FOR REPRODUCING ZULU WORDS

By

H. C. LUGG

All words or parts of speech in Zulu are composed of vowels and consonants, used or employed alternatively, and all end in a vowel. Furthermore, most words, shorn of prefixes and suffixes, do not consist of more than one or two syllables.

A list of the five vowels and Zulu consonants, 114 in all, is contained in the Chart appended; and it will be observed that the latter consist of either one or more letters e.g. a, b, dl, gcw, ngxw, etc.

Examples of single syllable words are a, ba, cwe, hle, etc., and those of two syllables baba, baca, badla, bande, bangqa.

The addition of a prefix or a suffix, and in very many cases one of the listed consonants, has the effect of not only varying the meaning of a word, but may change it altogether e.g. Baba- *isi*baba, *i*-Baca, *uku*baca, bace*la*, baba*ma*, baca*za*.

Being impressed with these and other characteristics of the language, I began some years ago to toy with the idea of reproducing words by *mechanical means*, and eventually succeeded in doing so with the aid of the Chart; and it should be stated that it was immaterial whether the words were known to me or not. Where they were not I had, of course, to take a chance and duds are often met with, but any ordinary linguist should be able to tell at a glance whether a certain combination of letters holds promise of being a *potential word* or not. As to duds, it is surprising how many seemingly meaningless words are brought to light by the addition of a prefix or suffix, or by a consonant. e.g. ɓaɓe, *u*ɓaɓe; ɓiɓa, *isi*ɓiɓa; ɓiɓi-, ɓiɓi*yela*.

I submitted the idea to Dr. C. M. Doke, Professor of Bantu Languages at the University of the Witwatersrand, and this gentleman not only expressed the opinion that it was very sound, but very kindly revised the list of consonants as contained in the Chart. Mr. D. Mck. Malcolm, late Chief Inspector of Native Education, Natal, and presently occupying the Zulu Chair at Howard University, to whom I also explained the method, considered that it offered possibilities as a means for amplifying existing dictionaries.

The Chart, as explained, contains all the sounds employed in the construction of Zulu parts of speech. Opposite these have been ranged the five vowels a.e.i.o.u., and to apply the method for reproducing words proceed in the following manner:

Beginning with A. link this to the letter next to it b. to produce ab., and as all words must end in a vowel complete it by adding a. and we have aba.

Now working across the Chart substitute for the final a in aba, each of the remaining four vowels in turn to produce *in all* aba, abe, abi, abo, abu.

The next letter to be linked up in this manner with A. is the implosive b. now indicated by the symbol ɓ. and dealt with as above we get aɓa. aɓe. aɓi. aɓo. aɓu.; and so we continue down the line until every consonant has been accounted for; but at this stage it is necessary to point out that as two vowels are not permitted in the same syllable, it will be necessary when two vowels meet such as a. and e., to skip the latter.

Having disposed of A. which involved about 545 entries, we next proceed to deal with B. in precisely the same way to produce Baba. babe. babi. babo. babu., and thereafter with the rest of the series in the same manner.

As it would, of course, be quite impossible to record all these entries on the Chart itself, an exercise book suitably ruled out — one for each vowel or consonant — will be found to be the most convenient method for recording these

combinations, and all *potential words* thereafter transferred to cards for classification and identification.

Admittedly the scheme would involve many thousands of entries — considerably over 60,000 roots — without taking into account about the same number produced by the addition of prefixes and affixes, etc., but we can be comforted by the fact that we are not beginning at zero. Current dictionaries already contain over 60,000 entries, and as the purpose of the method would be merely to collect words that have so far been omitted, there would be no need to include those already accounted for.

Again, although I have provided a Chart and suggested the use of exercise books, this has been done more with the idea of illustrating how the system works, rather than as a practical working basis.

All the vowels and consonants listed in the Chart are to be found, *following the same order*, in the Doke-Vilakazi dictionary, so that the linguist or expert might find it more convenient to use the dictionary as a chart rather than the Chart itself, and effect recordings on his cards without the use of exercise books because once the method is mastered it becomes an easy matter to build up words mentally and then to record them. But at the same time it would certainly facilitate matters to have the Chart before one together with a list of prefixes and affixes.

Admittedly the system calls for improvement at the hands of the expert, but once established on a scientific basis, I feel that the words that would escape enmeshment would be relatively small. In my own rough and ready way I have been able to collect hundreds of roots in the course of a few hours, and it is no exaggeration to state that no word of one or two syllables, whether indigenous or of foreign origin, can possibly escape inclusion, but it is for the philologist to improve upon it and adapt it, if possible, for use in other Bantu dialects.

Had the idea occurred to some of our early writers, it would not only have served to enrich our knowledge of the Zulu language, but would have lightened their task considerably.

## Chart

List of Zulu consonant sounds and the five vowels forming the components in Zulu speech.

*Consonant and vowel sounds*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a | l | nw |
| b | lw | nx |
| 6 | m | nxw |
| c | mb | ny |
| ch | mf | nyw |
| chw | mp | nz |
| cw | mv | nzw |
| d | n | o |
| dl | nc | p |
| dlw | ncw | ph |
| dw | nd | q |
| e | ndl | qh |
| f | ndlw | qhw |
| g | ndw | qw |
| gc | ng | r |
| gcw | ngc | s |
| gq | ngcw | sh |
| gqw | ngq | shw |
| gw | ngqw | sw |
| gx | ngw | t |
| gxw | ngx | th |
| h | ngxw | thw |
| hh | nhl | ts |
| hhw | nhlw | tsh |
| hl | nj | tshw |
| hlw | njw | tsw |
| hw | nk | tw |
| i | nkl | u |
| j | nklw | v |
| jw | nkw | w |
| k | nq | x |
| k' | nqw | xh |
| kh | ns | xhw |
| khw | nsw | xw |
| kl | nt | y |
| klw | ntsh | yw |
| kw | ntshw | z |
| k'w | ntw | zw |

# NOTES

## EAST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

The third Conference of the Institute took place at Kampala from January 1st—9th, 1952. It took the form of a small Fellows' meeting which was mainly given to the discussion of detailed comparative work on the social and economic structure of the Inter-Lacustrian Bantu and the planning of joint publications in this field.

Discussions were held on the kinship, territorial and political organization of the following: *Uganda*—Ganda (A. B. Mukwaya); Nyoro (J. Beattie); Soga (L. A. Fallers); Toro (B. K. Taylor): *Tanganyika*—Ha (J. Scherer); Haya (P. Reining); Zinza (J. W. Tyler). A scheme for the comparative study of political systems outlined by the Director was also discussed as well as a paper by Dr. K. Wachsmann on traditions of tribal migration among the Inter-Lacustrian Bantu.

Papers on the following tribes in Kenya were also read : "Social structure of the Boran" (P. T. W. Baxter) and "Marriage among the Kikuyu" (J. Fisher).

Professor F. Lorimer of the American University of Washington was present at one session and outlined a scheme for the collection of demographic data in East Africa. He was anxious to acquire additional information on maternity histories in areas of particularly low or particularly high fertility according to the 1948 census and suggested forms of village survey that might be conducted to this end.

## SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

### ANNUAL MEETING 7th–12th July, 1952

This year's meeting of the Association, under the Presidency of Dr. B. F. J. Schonland, F. R. S., will be a Jubilee meeting celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Association in Cape Town, and coincides with the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Royal Society of South Africa. The length of the session has been extended by one day and the programme is expected to be particularly interesting. Many of the overseas scientific associations will be represented by distinguished visiting scientists and delegates from other scientific bodies in the African continent will also attend. The Royal Society of South Africa and the Suid Afrikaanse Akademie will participate. The meeting will be held at the University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, Cape Town.

A number of papers have already been offered which will no doubt interest your members.

A cordial inivitation is given to those interested to attend any of these meetings. Those who are not members of the Association and wish to participate in excursions and functions should, however, apply for Associate Membership of the Association for the duration of the Annual Meeting.

## BOOKS IN REVIEW

**Akan and Ga-Adangme Peoples of the Gold Coast,** by MADELINE MANOUKIAN. (Oxford U.P. 1950.) Map. vii + 112. pp. 8/6.

This monograph, divided into two parts, one dealing with the Akan and the other with the Ga, is one of an ethnographic survey of Africa, published for the International African Institute under the editorship of Professor Daryll Forde with the aid of a grant from the Colonial Office. It is not stated how the personnel is selected for the production of the various monographs. The list of future publications has not been printed on the cover as stated (p.v.). "The aim of the Ethnographic Survey is to present a concise, critical and accurate account of our present knowledge of the tribal groupings, distribution, physical environment, social conditions, political and economic structure, religious beliefs and cult practices, technology and art of the African peoples." This programme is an ambitious one and has not been fulfilled in this monograph. Thus, though mention is made of the persistent southward migration of peoples, nothing more is said about these migrations that would help to clarify the great cultural mixtures found. Yet the information is to hand. Both Cardinal, *Tales Told in Togoland* p.10. London 1931 and Palmer, *Gazetteer of the Bornu Province* p.54. Lagos 1929, as well as others have shown that these migrations introduced ruling groups who belonged to stocks different from the peoples invaded. These ruling groups introduced cultures and social structures different from those ruled. Consequently one sees to-day a state of acculturation between at least two different social systems, in one, the indigenous, without law but operating through social sanctions; and the other, the ruling group, with law, operating through kings and courts.

The fact is not mentioned that stools were originally associated only with these invading kings and that the Golden Stool of Ashanti which united the Ashanti peoples, so far from being unique or original, has its prototype in the Valley of the Nile where Menes united Upper and Lower Egypt under one throne (Stool). Furthermore, "the Nubian Geographer" who was in West Africa circa 1130 writes of the golden stool of Ghana "it is certain that there is in the palace of the King, an entire lump of gold, not cast, nor wrought by instruments but perfectly formed by the divine Providence only, of thirty pounds weight, which has been bored through, and fitted for a seat to the royal throne and truly it is a most extraordinary thing granted to no other but to him, by which he procures to himself a peculiar glory, in comparison of all Negro Kings." (Moore p. 9. 1740).

No mention is made whether the army is modelled on the dual organization principles of Left and Right as in the Ashanti Army, or is not so organized.

It is interesting to note that migrant African labour on the Gold Coast is working for Africans. The same conditions can be observed among the Efik on the Cross River in Nigeria where farm labour is mostly Ibo.

Bark cloth is still in use and the native name of the tree is given as *Kyenkyen* but not the botanical one. This omission ill-accords with general scientific practice, especially when the information is easily to hand. The tree belongs to the Moraceae and is the *Antiaris Africana*. "Gold Coast. Ash. & Twi. Chenchen, Kyenkyen." (Dalziel, M. *The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa*, p. 273. London, 1937).

Livestock are mentioned but whether they are the Zebu, the *Bos aegypticus* or the dwarf shorthorn is not disclosed. The same remarks apply to the sheep. What type of sheep are they? What is the objection to being accurate?

The production of snails as an industry is but little known and the author might have given further details.

The statement that roofs were formerly made of leaves needs amplification. What leaves? I have

seen houses thatched with leaves but are not "these leaves" "plain leaf mats" and not just leaves?

The bald statement that "later, silk cloths were woven" requires amplification. How was the silk thread obtained: from some the of local spiders: or cocoons of caterpillars or, as I suspect, bought from the Europeans? Following after the statement that cotton was woven from locally grown cotton, one would imagine that the silk was also a local product. Is it ?

Again this statement is misleading : "lengths of web are cut off and sewn together to form a complete cloth." Surely the edges of the length of the web are sewn together and not the selvedges as one might be led to believe. The type of loom used is not mentioned. Is it the Indian cotton loom or the Fertile Crescent flax loom?

In the statement that pottery was left to women because pots were merely exchanged for foodstuffs, nothing is said as to the manner in which the exchange was effected. In other tribes who make pottery and exchange pots for foodstuffs, the manner of effecting the exchange is that the buyer fills the pot with grain. In other words the grain capacity of the pot is its exchange value. How is the exchange effected on the Gold Coast?

The statement that pots are moulded entirely by hand leaves much to the imagination. Is the coil method used or some other, and, whichever method is used, does the pot remain still and the potter walk around it or is the pot made to revolve on a base which may be a broken potsherd or a specially manufactured one?

The paragraphs devoted to metal working are lamentably short. No mention is made of the fact that there are two systems of weights: royal and common, nor the more important fact that, like the widely used cowry currency, the unit is six. In other words the weight system is based on a 6x10 notation, and hence cannot be indigenous, any more than the invention of the cire-perdue method is, or the cult of the stool.

"Prohibited to"? (p. 23) *Fowler's Modern English Usage* p. 464, says: "prohibited from".

No. 3. p. 23. What is the form of the ceremony by which expulsion is effected? There must be some special reason why the *Oyoko* is the king's clan. It has the terminal ending "ko" which over so much of Africa means 'great': *yo* is also a root linked with "sky". What does *Oyoko* mean?

The word *fie* (house) has a remarkable similarity to the word *fai* (house) among the Tikars of the Cameroons, who are also metal workers in the cire-perdue method.

On page 25 the lineage head has political and legal authority, yet he is selected by a meeting. Is he not *primus inter pares*? He is described as an arbitrator which is the function of such a selected person, but arbitrators are not judges. How does the lineage head settle disputes? How does he enforce his decisions? or can he not do so? If he cannot, then it is futile to speak of legal authority. What is meant by such a person having political authority? Such loose use of important terms bespeaks immaturity in handling such problems. The matri-lineage is classified under Political Units; surely it is a social unit! The whole section on political structure is unsatisfactory: what is apparent is that communities existed with a social structure and social sanctions and no political organization, and their invaders with kings and courts — law comes with the coming of the kings — brought in law and political institutions, and the integration of the two types of culture is not yet complete; but nothing is said to this effect because of the desire to describe the situation functionally.

Much of the general outline of the political organization is found along the line of the Kisra migration, hence the great similarity between the Court of the Bamum King in the French Cameroons and the Gyase Group (p. 38), as also the position of the Queen-mother. Certain persons are described as 'captains' but the term 'captain' is not defined. "Nowadays these Kumasi Captains are erroneously known as 'Clan chiefs', a quite unjustified name (p. 43)." But is not the use of the English word 'captain' in this context equally unjustified?

*Asafo* companies (p. 46) are described, but it is not stated whether they are age-groups or not. The point should be cleared up.

The section on land tenure shows how compli-

cated it is. If British rule continues, this land tenure will be modified by the decisions of British courts approximating to British principles.

One also notices the presence of the Four Quarter gods, e.i. the four main *abosom*. A cult widely spread among people who claim connection with sky-gods. A similar myth is found among the Ibo as accounting for the four days of their week.

The *Suman* or Fetish (p. 56). What is a Fetish? My experience leads me to the conclusion that the Fetish is a vestigial mummy. All instances that I have investigated show that the "medicine" gains its power from human remains but the *Suman* is somewhat different.

The statement (p. 60) that witches are powerless outside their own blood group is widespread. Meek draws attention to it among the Ibo, and here the cult of witchcraft is learned behaviour, including the names to be learnt for witches. Hence the cult is borrowed. It is so common a practice to burn witches that one notices that on (p. 61) such victims are strangled. Are they not afterwards burnt? Also, "witches were subjected to a public trial by poison". What poison? As such conduct is learned behaviour the name of the poison used is a key to the derivation of the practice. So far as the reviewer is aware it is a decoction from the bark of the *Erythrophleum guineense*.

The political and social organization of the Ga are quite difierent from the Akan. Here one sees the usual type of social organization associated with early cultures. Each village is an independent autonomous unit. It is interesting to note that the men do the husbandry and that men and women occupy different compounds.

On page 78 one finds the term *Heno to bo*, and a little lower down, *Henebotoo* is presumably the same term. Has there been a misspelling, and, if so, which is the correct form?

The Ga are said to have courts, yet one finds that "Wrong doers are forced by their kinsfolk to submit to 'town' discipline." One wonders whether the use of the term "courts" is correct, or that one is not dealing with the confusion introduced by Malinowski in describing social structure and social sanctions as law.

Magic, which is widespread on the West Coast, is not mentioned in this monograph though there is mention of 'medicine'.

The threefold personality (p. 101) is also found among the Ibo and the Ibibio in Nigeria.

This monograph is a disappointment, and one hopes that succeeding monographs will reach a higher standard.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

**The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria** by D. FORDE and G. I. JONES. (Oxford V.P. 1950) Map. 94. pp. 7/6*d*.

This volume is Part III Western Africa of an Ethnographic Survey of Africa conducted under the auspices of the International African Institute. The reviewer who has spent nearly twenty years among the Ibibio and a couple among the Ibo was kindly asked to assist in compiling the volume. Pressure of work prevented him and his field notes extending over all these years and measuring nearly two feet in height remain undigested and unused.

In this monograph the word 'tribe' is used, but sufficient warning has not been given that no such unit, as anthropologists understand by the term tribe, exists among these people. Thus, one loosely speaks of the Owerri tribe. This term refers to a group of people some 90,000 strong, occupying a continuous territory but without a paramount chief. The Owerri tribe consists of some eleven, independent, autonomous villages controlled by a group of village elders who are composed of the last lot of age-groups (Jeffreys. Age-groups among the Ika etc. *African Studies Dec.* 1950). Consequently there is strictly speaking no Owerri tribe.

Bonny started by being an Ijɔ settlement but the Ijɔ women were replaced by Ibo slave women and thus in time Bonny became Ibo speaking but it was never regarded as part of Ibo land.

In 1896 Roger Casement undertook an expedition towards Aro-Chuku but was set upon, robbed and driven back to Calabar.

"Igbo is one of the Kwa languages." (p. 11) comes as news to the reviewer. No such group of languages is mentioned by Johnston in his two volume book; *A Comparative Study of the the Bantu and semi-Bantu Languages*. Northcote Thomas who published *Specimens of Languages from Southern Nigeria* and whose linguistic map covers these two peoples puts "*Kwa*" in inverted commas. No such name appears on his map, nor on the map at the end of this volume. What is a Kwa language?

No mention is made of a recognized socio-economic unit — the *obodo* (p. 16–17) yet this is a definite unit. It seems that just as the family is the smallest social unit so also is there among hoe-cultivators a basic economic unit of land, huts and people which is given a specific name, such as *sebaka* in Sotho; *umzi* in Nguni; *nome* in ancient Egypt and Greece; *riding* in Yorkshire; *hundred* in England; *obodo* among the Ibo; *ikot* among the Ibibio and *nte* among the Tikar.

In the matter of "marriage payments" the girl is not allowed to be present and consequently it is always good form for the "girl" — unlike her Bantu opposite — not to know the amount paid.

It is unwise in view of the numerous dialects to say that *Ndi Nzi* (p. 19) is the term for titled men and not mention the dialect *Nditʃie* is also a term for titled men (Jeffreys). There was yet another way, not mentioned, by which an *Osu* (p. 23) could arise. A person, to escape some social calamity, could dedicate himself to a cult object, and by thus becoming sacred placed himself out of the reach of society's means of redress. A variant for *Ohu* was *Oru*.

No mention is made of the very distinctive facial cicatrization known as "*Itʃi*" and characteristic of the *ɔzɔ* grade in certain areas: nor that children are usually called after the day of the week on which they are born.

The section devoted to religious beliefs and cults is the poorest in the monograph merely because available sources were not consulted. Thus in the Awka College Magazine Dec. 1931. is an article on religious beliefs and immortality: there was also my Ph.D. Thesis on the Divine Umendri King in the library of University College London.

No mention is made that the *Chi* in *Chiuku* is the old Ibo word for sun (C.M.S. Typed Ibo Dictionary 1930) or that Anyanu=Eye of Anu. The *ɔfɔ* is described as a religious staff — it is actually a symbolized mummy.

No mention is made of the *Alufi* i.e. children of Chi, which is the collective name for the spirits worshipped at shrines: nor that the bull-roarer is a cult object of the *mmɔ* societies.

Iron is accepted by the Ibo as an efficient bar against the presence and practice of witchcraft and for this reason most *dibia* and title men carry a few *omu* (miniature arrowheads of iron) in their bags.

No mention is made of the sacred number four, nor of the fact that the Ibo week consists of four days with a tradition that these are named after four Sky-Beings.

On page 43. No. 9 in the notes one reads "Derived from *Ezinihiti* etc." Ezenihiti is but a dialectical form for Ezi-n-fite" i.e. Upper and Lower into which so many Ibo settlements divide. (Jeffreys Dual Organization in Africa. *African Studies* Sept. 1946). Page 44 *Mboko* is a term by which the Ibibio (probably the Anaŋ group) were known to the early slave traders. (Jeffreys. 1935. p. 9–13).

Page 52. The story of being driven north by "white-eyed dwarfs with blunderbusses" has foundation in fact. There is evidence that Europeans took part in up-river raids organized from Calabar. Thus Parker in his evidence before Parliament in 1790 states that in 1765 he took part in such a raid. The effect of such raids is reflected in the arrangement of the buildings. "Settlements are more compact than in most Ibo areas" i.e. there was quick concentration of men to repel such raids.

The block-farming system mentioned was not understood by the earlier district officers with the result that the terms "communal farms, communal ownership of land" were wrongly coined and as such appear in the laws of Nigeria, e.g. in the Forestry Ordinances. The "dodo" would appear to be derived from Northern Nigeria.

The Bibliography of the Ibo is good. There are however two important omissions. No mention is made of the book *Akukɔ — Ala Obosi* written

by an Ibo. i.e. *Iweka Nuno* dealing with the History and Customs of the ruling town of Obosi and published in 1924.

No mention is made of the Awka College Magazine wherein much Ibo material is stored, e.g. an article by the author under his native Ibo name of Gore More (gɔ mmɔ). Incidentally *Ntokon* in the Bibliography is also the reviewer writing under his Ibibio native name.

Of the 94 pages in this volume 65 are devoted to the Ibo and 28 to the Ibibio consequently the information in the Ibibio is even scantier than that on the Ibo.

Under the heading *Main Features of Economy* no information appears to have been taken from any of the assessment reports which show that among the Ibibio there are numbers of persons who own no land and subsist as casual labourers and that much of the labour in the plantations of the Efik is Ibo. An article "The Average Wealth of the Calabar native, "Jeffreys. *African World.* May, 1929, is not even mentioned in the Bibliography.

Among the women's societies no mention is made of the Njama under whose auspices the clitoridectomy of women is carried out. The Ntwak Ndok ceremony is so far as I know limited to the Efik and is not found among either the Ibibio or the Anaŋ.

The statement that the python is sacred among the Anaŋ is only part of the story. The python is sacred among the Ibibio (Jeffreys. Snake Stones: *Journal of the Royal African Society*, October 1942).

Page 90 Fuller information on the Kwa is to be found in "Some Notes on the Ekoi." Jeffreys. J.R.A.I. Vol. LXIX. 1939.

On the Andoni the reviewer has a number of notes and a map of the area which he hopes to put together towards the end of the year.

The Bibliography for the Ibibio is poor. Thus there are the following important omissions :

ADAMS, J. *Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo.* London. 1823.

BURTON, R. F. *Wanderings in Western Africa.* London, 1863.

DOUGLAS, A. C. *Niger Memories.* Exeter. 1928.

GOLDIE, H. *Memoirs of King Eyo Honesty VII.* Calabar. 1894. *Calabar and its Mission.* London, 1902.

HUTCHINSON, T. J. *Impressions of Western Africa.* London. 1856.

WADDELL, H. *Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa.* London. 1863.

and there are many others including such journals as that of the Royal Geographical Society. Among the unpublished MSS. that could have been quoted with advantage is one by Mr. D. A. F. Shute.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

**Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern.** Religionswissenschaftliche Betrachtungen. Ad. E. JENSEN. (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag: 1951). VII, 425 pp.

The purpose of the book is to give a better idea of the culture and above all of the religion of those peoples who are still in a low economic stage, i.e. that of "simple agricultural economy" or the stage of "primitive planters." The author expands, however, the scope of his view to that of a general psychology of the so-called "primitive man", which is expressed in the title of his book by the term "Naturvölker".

The author maintains that these people have been wrongly classified for a century by the ethnology which was influenced by the (so-called) "evolutionary theory", of which he gives, however, no precise definition. Wrong concepts of this theory have been advanced, according to the author, mainly about the religious beliefs (classified by the author as 'myths') and ritual actions (classified as 'cult') of the peoples considered. In contrast with the "caricatures" ("Zerrbilder") produced by the "evolutionary theory", the author promises to give a better understanding of the religious and the spiritual development of these

people. He is keen to show that man in the stage of "simple agricultural economy" was both as logical and as reasonable within the frame of his experience as is modern man, although the primitive's actions are very often difficult to understand. Nevertheless, the ideas which he has produced possess a specific value of their own independently of, and incomparable with, our present scientific concepts. Only if we can place ourselves in that stage of experience and mentality of the cultures which were, or are not yet, governed by the modern principles of "causal-logic thinking", but by "mythic thinking" (that is to say: learn to believe as they believe), will we understand this seemingly completely different aspect of the world and of the divine beings which founded and preserved the "primeval order of the world." Man in this stage was still able to *grasp* reality by means of immediate experience and he could *express* the immanent meaning of these events, which are the matter of his experience, immediately by his creative power (schöpferischer Ausdruck).

This creative stage, however, inevitably faded as soon as the principles of "causal-logic thinking" such as the ideas of sacrifices, magic and longing for salvation (Heilsverlangen), occupied the attention of men and changed his faculty of creative expression into that of ceremonial "application" (Anwendung). Hence the original meaning (Sinn) was expelled from the primeval rites which were inaugurated by divine beings at the end of the "primeval age".

To this stage belong, above all, the acts which are otherwise unintelligible for us, such as the "ritual killing" of men, head-hunting to which genital-hunting is almost equivalent, the cruel portions of the puberty-ceremonies and other cruel rites. According to the author it is completely wrong to interpret these rites as sacrifices or as magic actions. They are done, still among the "simple agriculturists" of to-day "without motives", merely in imitation of the respective original actions of the "super-natural" or divine beings of the "primeval age" who created them by ritually killing some of their own fellows to change them by this way into edible plants. The respective rites of the living "Naturvölker" have, therefore, no other aim than to maintain the "primeval world-order" by imitating these original rites for the benefit of men.

The author refers for the correctness of his theory to the innumerable myths and rites of peoples which, as he assumes, fall under the scope of his thesis, above all to the Hainuwele myth of the Wemale of West Ceram, which he recorded on the spot, and next to this, to the collection of myths and rites of the Marind-anim of New Guinea, which Dr. P. Wirz has published. The author proceeds to use a word of the Marind-anim, viz. *dema*, which was, indeed, often mentioned by P. Wirz in connection with such rites, as a general term ("Dema-Gottheiten") for divine beings who have been the actors in the primeval ritual drama. If we, however, compare the role imputed to them by the author with the original reports by P. Wirz, we cannot accept this identification. Especially as these *dema* beings are inextricably connected with magic characters; even their ability to change themselves into a variety of things, including stones, must be considered as magical in its character. This fact is quite irreconcilable with the author's theory, for he summons his entire eloquence to convince the reader that the primeval age did not yet possess the idea of magic. Therefore, the claim of K. Th. Preusz in his articles on the origin of religion and art, by which he has demonstrated that this development has occurred in intimate connection with magie (Globus 1904/05), must be considered as a most dangerous misguidance for which the "evolutionary" theory must be held responsible.

Discussing other problems dealing with ideas of the myths and rites of peoples at the stage of culture of the "simple agriculturists", such as high gods, conceptions of soul, shamanism, moral behaviour and magic, the author feels himself repeatedly obliged to admit that his views are still speculative. The reviewer is, deplorably, of the opinion that the entire theory of the author is completely speculative and in contradiction of ethnographic facts. The author proudly claims to have been a pupil of Leo Frobenius who was

formerly Professor in the University of Frankfurt a.M., and to be now his successor. So he stresses that he has, therefore, based his theory on some general principles of Frobenius' "Culture Morphology". These are the ideas of "creative experience" or of "creative expression" with respect to the period of the inauguration of important myths and rites; in contrast to it is the period of "application", the period during which the original meaning of the myths and rites faded and was replaced by secondary motives. The author considers this process to be a degeneration without any regard to the possibility of progress possibly connected with the development of other motives.

These principles have caused the author to decide in a very abstract manner (i.e. without sufficient analyses of the respective myths and rites with regard to the total frame of culture), which rites and myths are original and which have been deprived of their original meaning ("sinn-entleert").

It is, indeed, very difficult for ethnographic fieldworkers to understand how the fieldworker Ad. E. Jensen could develop such an abstract theory. A comparison with the first chapter of Walter F. Otto's book "Dionysos: Mythos und Kultus" (Frankfurt a.N. 1933), however, reveals the reason. We find here the outline of the theory which the author has transferred (vide p. 54) from the workshop of a specific, decidedly anti-anthropological form of classic philology to ethnology, abandoning the concrete ground of anthropology. Nevertheless, the book can be used as a starting-point for academic discussions.

F. RUDOLF LEHMANN.

**The Quest of Souls in Qua Iboe,** by EVA S. WATT (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Edinburgh: 1951,) 158, pp. 6*s*.

A great story of missionary enterprise well told in small compass. Qua Iboe is a river flowing through the country between the Niger and the Cross Rivers in West Africa. This little book is to a great extent the story of a very ordinary Irishman, Samuel Bill, who responded to a challenge to devote his life to missionary work in that untouched centre of West African heathenism. The results were stupendous. Bill went to Africa in 1887; he died at Ibuno on the Qua Iboe in 1942. In those 55 years this pioneer of the Christian gospel saw the mission grow from the first convert to a great witness for Christ: 15 central stations, 750 out-stations in charge of about 700 teachers and evangelists, with a total church membership exceeding 50,000. This is a little book well worth reading. Apart from the mission history, it gives a good account of the operation of spiritism and the 'societies' in that part of West Africa.

C. M. D.

**Lezingin over de opvoeding der Plattelands + bevolking in Belgisch + Kongo.** By Proff. N. DE CHEENE en L. O. J. DE WILDE, J. VAN WING J. S., & DR. J. NICAISI (Antwerp, 1951). 101 pp. 65 Belg. frs.

These lectures on the education of the African rural population of the Belgian Congo are published as No. VI of the *Kongo-Overzee Bibliotheek*. They were delivered by various experts at the University of Ghent on the occasion of a Colonial Academic Day instituted by the Colonial University Study Circle and their objective was to direct attention to the danger of a policy that envisages African economic development as an end in itself. The lectures deal with the social structure of the Congo people, their traditional and modern moral education, their economic and political education and the training of the colonial agricultural engineer, all at a very elementary level. There is nothing new in these lectures and they are too slight to be of value to the student. Their main interest lies in the stress that is laid upon the moral factor for the advance of the African.

J. D. K.